

# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

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HENRY T. ROWELL

LUDWIG EDELSTEIN, KEMP MALONE  
BENJAMIN D. MERITT, JAMES H. OLIVER  
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Honorary Editor  
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## THE CONDITIONAL SENTENCE IN ATTIC GREEK.

The conditional sentence has been made, probably, the most important feature of syntax in the teaching of Attic Greek in this country.<sup>1</sup> The terminology generally used nowadays in describing the chief forms of the Greek conditional sentence seems to this author very infelicitous, and the purpose of this paper is to call attention to the advantages of a terminology which once found acceptance in respectable quarters, but which is now neglected, namely that of B. L. Gildersleeve.<sup>2</sup>

The name given to a phenomenon in syntax largely determines a student's conception of the phenomenon, and the popular nomenclature for the forms of the conditional sentence fails to help toward the building-up of a clear understanding of the force of Greek moods. This popular nomenclature is that found originally in the grammatical works of W. W. Goodwin and more recently adopted by his successors at Harvard, H. W. Smyth and C. B. Gulick.<sup>3</sup> To Goodwin, the essential distinction

<sup>1</sup> A description of the conditional sentence is contained in the chapter introducing the study of the moods in the following elementary textbooks: Chase and Phillips, White, Benner and Smyth, Crosby and Schaefer, Burgess and Bonner.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sister R. de L. Henry, *The Late Greek Optative* (Catholic University Diss., 1943), p. xii: "The writer has profited much from repeated consultation of them [Gildersleeve's extensive treatises] and regrets that the results of his work are not the basis of American grammars instead of Goodwin's."

<sup>3</sup> See also F. E. Thompson, *A Syntax of Attic Greek* (London, 1883), pp. 197-201; E. Kieckers, *Historische griechische Grammatik*, IV (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926), pp. 52-3. To be sure there have been protests

between the subjunctive mood and the optative mood in the protasis of a conditional sentence is "one of vividness of expression or distinctness in the form of the supposition, entirely apart from any difference of the speaker's opinion on any subject."<sup>4</sup> His two crowning examples for justification of this statement are passages from Demosthenes where the subjunctive and optative are used in successive sentences. In Demosthenes, 4, 11-12, the sentence *καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε . . .* is followed in the next sentence by *εἴ τι πάθῃ* depending on two optatives with *ἂν*. Both sentences express a supposition on the contingency of the same event, Philip's death.<sup>5</sup>

In Demosthenes, 18, 147-8, the alternative plans of Philip are expressed by four conditions; two in the subjunctive mood, two in the optative. The suppositions are in *oratio obliqua* after past tenses, and in all four cases the future infinitive occurs in the apodoses. Goodwin states that the two subjunctives express the plans which Philip had most at heart, and the two optatives express the opposite alternatives. "The subjunctive is a more distinct and vivid form than the optative, and is therefore chosen to express the supposition which was uppermost in the mind of the one who made it."<sup>6</sup>

These passages from Demosthenes illustrate two distinct principles of Greek syntax: the first is the use of subjunctive and optative in the protases of conditional sentences, which is the subject matter of the present paper; the second is the use of subjunctive and optative after historical tenses in *oratio obliqua*, and need be mentioned only briefly here. The writer who puts himself with more directness into relation with the time of which he is writing will incline to the subjunctive (*repraesentatio*). The more mechanical writer will follow the established sequence. Outside of Herodotus and Thucydides, there are few authors who prefer the subjunctive. In the poets

against this classification: see C. D. Chambers, *C.R.*, IX (1895), p. 293; and I. Flagg, *Outlines of the Temporal and Modal Principles of Attic Prose* (Berkeley, 1893), pp. xi-xvii.

<sup>4</sup> *T. A. P. A.*, IV (1873), p. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, 16.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Goodwin's edition of the *De Corona* (Cambridge, 1901), p. 110. All four conditions would be expressed in *oratio recta* by subjunctives.



from Homer to Aristophanes, and later in Plato and Xenophon, the optative predominates.<sup>7</sup> A cautious way of stating the phenomenon would be to say that in the transfer to the past the mood of will or anticipation (subjunctive) may lose its practical basis and be assimilated to the mood of fancy (optative: Stahl's *Vorstellung*);<sup>8</sup> when the action lies in the future of the writer or the future of the speaker the subjunctive is used as a kind of quotation, and this latter usage, as has been stated, is especially common in historical style. Weber has termed the subjunctive and the optative forms the "stronger" and the "weaker," Goodwin speaks of "more vivid" and "less vivid." There is a difference of liveliness between the original subjunctive and the oblique optative, and for the former this author would prefer to use the term *repraesentatio*.<sup>9</sup> "It is the unconventionality of the subjunctive after the historical tenses that gives it the charm of dramatic directness."<sup>10</sup>

No matter what habits these two moods may have taken on in the *oratio obliqua* construction—and Gildersleeve once referred to this use of the optative as the great riddle of this mood<sup>11</sup>—it is their use in protases in *oratio recta* which should determine the classification of conditional sentences. Here we must admit at once, as we are often reminded, that grammar cannot be reduced to rule.<sup>12</sup> But the grammatical terminology which takes

<sup>7</sup> The *oratio obliqua* optative for the indicative is comparatively late. But the optative for the subjunctive after historical tenses is common in the earliest period. See Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, p. 261.

<sup>8</sup> The definitions of the moods are those of Gildersleeve and will be returned to below.

<sup>9</sup> Gildersleeve, *A. J. P.*, XXIII (1902), p. 129. The most recent study of this subject is Benveniste, *B. S. L.*, XLVII (1951), pp. 11-20.

<sup>10</sup> Gildersleeve, *A. J. P.*, XXIII (1902), p. 129.

<sup>11</sup> *A. J. P.*, III (1882), p. 437.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the penetrating remarks concerning the study of Greek syntax made by the great French Hellenist, Henri Weil, in his review of Gildersleeve's *S. C. G.* (*Journal des Savants*, 1901, p. 325): "L'ouvrage de M. Gildersleeve est le fruit mûr d'un long enseignement, d'infatigables lectures faites la plume à la main, d'une étude patiente et pénétrante des textes classiques; la clarté, la précision, l'excellence de la méthode s'y allient au don de sentir et de faire sentir les nuances les plus délicates. Ce don, nécessaire à tout grammairien, l'est particulièrement à celui qui entreprend d'écrire une syntaxe grecque. Rien ne ressemble moins à un code: elle obéit, il est vrai, à des lois que l'on peut

into account masses of phenomena and spheres of usage has marked advantages, particularly at the elementary level of teaching. I would contend that by calling *ἐάν* the legal condition, or *ὅπως ἂν* the legal expression of finality, we learn much more of a language than by any number of vague formulae. The trouble with Goodwin's "more vivid" and "less vivid" is its vagueness. Moreover, the optative form of the condition is as "vivid" as the future indicative or as the subjunctive, but the "vividness" is the "vividness" not of prophecy nor of calculation, but of fancy.<sup>13</sup>

The following examples of the optative condition may serve to illustrate this point:

dégager, mais dès qu'on essaye de formuler ces lois, elle résiste, elle réclame sa liberté; cette liberté n'est cependant pas la licence; si elle semble enfreindre la lettre de la loi, c'est pour mieux se conformer à son esprit. C'est que la langue grecque, produit naturel d'une peuple admirablement doué, n'a pas connu pendant des siècles le joug étroit des grammairiens de profession; instrument d'une merveilleuse souplesse, elle s'accommoda au caractère des genres littéraires, au génie des poètes, des orateurs, des écrivains qui savaient en jouer, capable de rendre les plus fines nuances du sentiment et de la pensée. Mobile et variée à l'infini, tout en restant la même, cette langue fait, par son apparente indiscipline, le désespoir des grammairiens rigides et les délices des esprits qui savent le goûter."

<sup>13</sup> E. A. Hahn, who follows Goodwin, has recently written (*Subjunctive and Optative*, p. 115): "There is not a single type of dependent clause [in Homer] that cannot wherever futurity is involved take either a subjunctive or an optative, without the slightest distinction based on the question whether will or wish is involved." She admits only the distinction of "vividness." Such a theory, which depends on subjective interpretation, is difficult to prove or disprove. The most recent study of the moods of Homer, published after the Hahn monograph, recognizes "wish" and "will" (P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique*, II: Syntaxe [Paris, 1953]). Homer, *Il.*, XII, 322 ff. is one of many cases where the matter of "vividness" is beside the point. Here the hypothetical ideal condition requires the optative. This ideal condition is then opposed to *νῦν δέ* (line 326), which is frequently used in the sequel of the unreal, less often after the ideal conditional. I have encountered no example of it after the anticipatory form. Another sphere where the optative is commonly used is in comparisons introduced by *ὥς εἰ* (*Il.*, II, 780; XI, 389). Those untrained in Greek modes of conception would often expect the unreal condition. Bragging is especially appropriate to the ideal form. Homer, *Il.*, VIII, 21 ff. There is danger in relying on one's personal impression rather than on objective criteria such as can be obtained from an observation of spheres of usage and of literary genre.



Lysias, 19, 38: εἰ δημεύσαιτε τὰ Τιμοθέου ὃ μὴ γένοιτο εἰ μὴ τι μέλλει μέγα ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει,

Euripides, fr. 529N: εἰ δ' εἰς γάμους ἔλθοιμ' ὃ μὴ τύχοι, ποτέ, | τῶν ἐν δόμοισιν ἡμερευουσῶν ἀεὶ | βελτίον' ἂν τέκοιμι δώμασιν τέκνα.

Aeschylus, *Septem*, 5: εἰ δ' αὖθ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, συμφορὰ τύχοι,

Lysias, 9, 21: τυχὼν μὲν γὰρ τῶν δικαίων (πιστεύω δὲ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ γνώμῃ) μέναιμι ἂν ἐν τῇ πόλει· πραχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶνδε, εἰ ἀδίκως ἀλοίην, ἀποδράην ἂν.

In no one of these examples do I believe that the use of the optative involves "less vividness." Nor would the *ἐάν* conditional be a suitable substitute. The condition of the optative, as the ideal condition, conjures up images of desire and dread, and the optative form is thus the favorite whenever there is a wish for or against, as in the above examples.

Conditional sentences like other compound sentences worked their way out of a loose parataxis into a definite hypotaxis. In early Greek as in early English the forms are very varied and so to speak tentative. Even in classic prose many combinations are found, but it is common to distinguish four great leading forms.<sup>14</sup>

The terms of classification of Goodwin and Gildersleeve for the conditional sentence are as follows:

#### Goodwin

- I. Present or past conditions with nothing implied
- II. Present and past conditions with supposition contrary to fact
- III. Future conditions, more vivid form
- IV. Future conditions, less vivid form

#### Gildersleeve

- I. Logical
- II. Anticipatory or legal
- III. Ideal
- IV. Unreal

<sup>14</sup> In Greek as in English the conditional sentence only gradually crystallized into certain forms. Many of the conditional structures of Homer are not in use in Attic prose, just as many of Shakespeare's conditional sentences would not be accepted in current English. Examples of abandoned forms are: Homer, *Il.*, II, 81; V, 311-12, 388; XVII, 70.

Gildersleeve's classification was presented in *A.J.P.*, III (1882), pp. 434-45: "The Conditional Sentence in Pindar."<sup>15</sup>

1. The first form is much used in argument on account of its fairness<sup>16</sup> and is aptly called the logical condition. The protasis and apodosis are ordinarily both in the indicative, but as the essence of the conditional form lies in the necessary connection between the two members, any form used for statement may be put in either member or in both. All that the logical condition asserts is the inexorable connection of the two members of the sentence. As poetry is more concrete than prose, we find the logical condition more frequently in poetry than in prose. Only we must distinguish between the *epos*, in which general conditions are usually put in the subjunctive, and tragedy and lyric. In Pindar, usage of the logical condition almost doubles that of all other types put together.<sup>17</sup> Gildersleeve has noted that these suppositions "are taken largely from concrete instances." Isaeus uses a larger number of this type of condition than does Isocrates, although approximately three times as much of the latter's work is preserved.<sup>18</sup> For the argument of a practical lawyer, the logical condition is indispensable; the rhetorician prefers the ideal condition. The great majority of the examples of the logical condition in the two orators are found in the "proof" where argumentation is required; very few occur in the first part of speeches.

2. In the second form the apodosis gives the consequence of an anticipated protasis.<sup>19</sup> The protasis is *ἐάν* (*ἔν*, *άν*) with the

<sup>15</sup> I wish to state here that I have borrowed freely from Gildersleeve's writings without using quotation marks. As a member for three years of seminars concerned with Greek syntax at the Johns Hopkins, I benefited from contact with the immense learning of C. W. E. Miller.

<sup>16</sup> So Dem., 18, 10, introducing a logical condition, says: *θεάσασθ' ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω*. The logical is the favorite form when one is sure of the premiss or is arguing on the basis of conceded facts, the condition when one wishes to be or seem fair. On account of this argumentative or semi-causal use, the term "logical" seems preferable.

<sup>17</sup> Gildersleeve, *A.J.P.*, III (1882), p. 438.

<sup>18</sup> See A. C. Johnson, *A Comparative Study in Selected Chapters in the Syntax of Isaeus* . . . (Athens, 1911), p. 41.

<sup>19</sup> Anticipation is not synonymous with expectation, nor is there any element of probability. Anticipation treats the future as if it were present; expectation postpones the realization.

subjunctive, the apodosis is in the future, the universal present, or any equivalent to either. This class is the favorite form for all practical matters: it deals chiefly with cases that belong to real life. It has greater exactness than the logical condition in dealing with the future and so whenever the temporal relation of the actions and not simply the logical sequence is to be marked, this form is to be preferred.<sup>20</sup> So in all general propositions the language prefers the anticipatory unless particular individuals are aimed at. As the action is always prospective, this is the prevalent form of condition in legal documents.<sup>21</sup> Hence it may be called the anticipatory or legal condition.<sup>22</sup>

This is by far the commonest form in inscriptions where many scores of examples may be found, whereas of the ideal condition there are no instances in Attic decrees.<sup>23</sup> As the anticipatory condition is practically the only form in inscriptions, it is not strange to find that it also predominates in the Attic orators. In Isaeus there are 97 examples of this form and in Isocrates 277.<sup>24</sup> This equals an average of 1.42 for every 2.37 Teubner pages of Isaeus and 1.80 for every 2.56 pages of Isocrates.

3. In the third form of the condition the protasis is a fancy and the apodosis a notion.<sup>25</sup> This is the ideal condition, the great condition of illustration.<sup>26</sup> Comparison which in English

<sup>20</sup> I list the following examples where logical and anticipatory conditions are found in the same connection: Dem., 8, 17 (*ἂν μὲν* favorable—*εἰ* with future unfavorable); 23, 54; 27, 20-2; Isaeus, 8, 32; Isocrates, 12, 237 (*εἰ μὲν* unfavorable—*ἐὰν δέ* favorable); 17, 9 (*εἰ* with opt. = *ἐὰν* with the subj.; *εἰ* with fut. opt. = *εἰ* with fut. indic.); Lysias, 14, 12-13; 27, 7; Antiphon, 6, 4; Plato, *Leg.*, IX, 865 AB; Xen., *Cyr.*, IV, 1, 15; *Oec.*, 11, 24; Ar., *Nub.*, 586 and 591; *Vesp.*, 1262-3; Eur., *I. A.*, 915-6; *Med.*, 241-3; Hdt., I, 71, 3; III, 36, 5; VII, 11, 2; Homer, *Il.*, I, 135-7; XII, 245-50.

<sup>21</sup> Prophecies, on the other hand, are more frequently drawn up in the logical form.

<sup>22</sup> We want a word that will harmonize present and future. Anticipation treats the future as if it were present.

<sup>23</sup> In Attic decrees, I have found fewer than five cases of the logical condition and only one of the unreal.

<sup>24</sup> The figures are those of A. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>25</sup> See *S. C. G.*, 389. The logical condition brings the conclusion to the test of fact. The case is either so or not so. With the ideal condition the test may never be applied, indeed, may not be applicable.

<sup>26</sup> For illustrations, see, e. g., Xen., *Hiero*, 1, 30; 6, 15.

is made in a form analogous to the unreal is in Greek frequently made with the ideal.<sup>27</sup> Noteworthy is the fact that there is often a wish for or against the fulfilment.<sup>28</sup> The protasis is in the optative, the mood of wish and imagination, the apodosis is in the optative with *ἄν*. Sometimes other forms of subjective statement are used instead of the optative with *ἄν*.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the future indicative is the most common.

The ideal condition is not found in Attic decrees.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, in the preserved *corpus* of the most practical lawyer among the Attic Orators, Isaeus, there are only ten examples. Yet in Isocrates there are 149. The latter, the most rhetorical among the canon, is the idealist and as such uses the construction frequently. If we measure according to Teubner pages, we find that Isocrates uses the ideal type more than five times as frequently as the practical business orator. It is in epideictic display that the ideal condition abounds. In his private speeches, however, Isocrates shows the influence of legal language and there uses only one example of this type of condition.<sup>31</sup>

4. The fourth form of the condition is akin to the logical and like the logical is often used in argument. The protasis always involves an opposing reality from which the argument advances. The protasis of the unreal condition is *εἰ* with the indicative of the historical tenses, the apodosis contains the indicative of the

<sup>27</sup> See Homer, *Il.*, XI, 389 (comp. after *ὥς εἰ*).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Gildersleeve *ad* Pindar, *O.*, 1, 108: "The original wish element is plain in all or nearly all Pindar's ideal conditionals." The word "ideal" serves to reconcile the two notions of desire and thought.

<sup>29</sup> The ideal condition, however, is the steadiest of the types of conditions, equivalents being less freely employed for the optative with *ἄν*. S. Sobolewski (*Syntaxis Aristophaneae capita selecta* [Moscow, 1891], p. 61) notes that of fifty-nine ideal conditions in Aristophanes only three are exceptions. Noteworthy is the predominance of the aorist optative over the present. This is in marked contrast to the behavior of the subjunctive, and seems to follow the optative in the wish, where attainment is naturally more common than process.

<sup>30</sup> So A. C. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 42. According to Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (Berlin, 1900), p. 255, the only complete optative condition in Attic inscriptions occurs in poetry. E. Hermann (*Die Nebensätze in den griechischen Dialektinschriften* [Leipzig and Berlin, 1912], p. 284) states that the dialect inscriptions have no examples of the pure ideal condition.

<sup>31</sup> 20, 19.

historical tenses with *ἄν* (*κεν*). In Greek as in many other languages the past is used as a contradiction of the present. This is shown by the use of *νῦν δέ* in the sequel of an unreal condition, originally of time "now," afterwards of mere contrast of fact to falsehood, "as it is," "as it was."<sup>32</sup>

In addition to these four leading forms reference may be made to two other groups which some scholars designate separately: generic conditions and the type *εἰ* with the future.

The logical condition of the future, *εἰ* with future indicative, is not so common as the form *ἐάν* with subjunctive and is most largely used in threats, stern alternatives, and the like (*minatory* and *monitory* use) and with verbs of emotion. Goodwin considers the future indicative with *εἰ* as only a way of expressing "most vividly," precisely the same idea as conveyed by *ἐάν* with the subjunctive.<sup>33</sup>

Gildersleeve has collected the examples of this conditional in the classical literature, and again the sphere of usage can leave little doubt about which terminology is preferable.<sup>34</sup> *εἰ* with the future indicative is far more frequently found in tragic poetry than in normal prose, and occurs in diminishing ratio in the three great tragic poets. Of the future conditions in Aeschylus, seventy-three per cent are in the indicative, while in the lawyer-like Euripides only forty-three per cent have this form. Gildersleeve, in studying the examples in context, showed that in tragedy and elsewhere *εἰ* with the future indicative was used by preference in a stern sense, in minatory and monitory connections. Clapp, in defense of Goodwin's position, has stated that there are examples of *ἐάν* with the subjunctive in minatory conditions. This is true. That the Greek should use the milder form instead of the harsher is in consonance with the moderation of the race: to tone down a statement is more congenial to the Greek than to tone it up.

The early division of conditional sentences into particular and generic, as stated by Goodwin, has found wide acceptance. In

<sup>32</sup> "As it is": Lys., 13, 62; 18, 17; 20. Ar., *Ach.*, 219; *Vesp.*, 1140. "As it was": Dem., 18, 133, 153; Lys., 7, 15. Of course *νῦν δέ* may be opposed to the ideal as well: Homer, *Il.*, XII, 322-6.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Clapp, *T. A. P. A.*, XVIII (1887), p. 46.

<sup>34</sup> *T. A. P. A.*, VII (1876), pp. 1-23; *A. J. P.*, IX (1888), pp. 491-2; *A. J. P.*, XIII (1892), pp. 123-5.

its application to the anticipatory conditional sentence the distinction is practically useful and it should be noted that it was presented long ago by Bäumlein (1846).<sup>35</sup> The same distinction might be applied to all the other types,<sup>36</sup> but as there is not the same difference in form, it seems practically of little avail.<sup>37</sup> Goodwin himself finally came to acknowledge explicitly in *P. A. P. A.*, IV (1873), pp. 14-16, and implicitly in his article on *ei* in the seventh edition of Liddell and Scott, that he had made too extensive an application of this division. If the anticipatory conditional is transferred to the past, we have again the division into particular and generic—for the so-called optative of indefinite frequency is nothing but the *oratio obliqua* of the subjunctive; even when the *oratio obliqua* is not formally expressed, it lies in the notion of will, inclination, habit, which is involved in rule of action (partial obliquity).<sup>38</sup>

It is my conviction that the Gildersleeve terminology for the conditional sentence, as presented above, would help toward the building up of a clearer understanding of the force of Greek moods. This conviction, obviously, is based on the assumption that the moods might best be defined according to the language used by Gildersleeve in Part One of the *Syntax of Classical*

<sup>35</sup> *Untersuchungen über die griechischen Modi*, 208; 219-221. If the apodosis of an anticipatory condition is a future, the action is thrown into the future; if the apodosis is a universal present, the time is indefinite. The gnomic future, perfect, or present, as well as the imperative or optative with *ἄν*, may take the place of the universal present.

<sup>36</sup> Examples of the generic logical conditional might be multiplied indefinitely. Eur., fr. 294N: *εἰ θεοὶ τι δρῶσιν αἰσχρόν, οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί*. Dem., 23, 54 is an instructive passage. See also Pindar, *P.*, 11, 54-6. When the logical condition, which may be either general or particular, is combined with a universal present, it has a double meaning which adapts it admirably to personal argument. So the article with the participle is often used to apply a general statement to a particular individual.

<sup>37</sup> It may be possible that historically *εἰ* with the subjunctive was the original generic and *εἰ κε, ἥν* the original particular.

<sup>38</sup> See Gildersleeve, *T. A. P. A.*, VII (1876), pp. 7-8. So Goodwin in the latest edition of *Moods and Tenses*, p. 389: "The optative in past general suppositions only represents the corresponding subjunctive transferred to the past." Thus, Dem., 18, 43: *πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο λέγειν* (= *ἐμελλον ἀκούσεσθαι*). *Il.*, XXIV, 768-71 is the only example in Homer.



Greek from Homer to Demosthenes, *The Syntax of the Simple Sentence, Embracing the Doctrine of the Moods and Tenses*, or according to the similar, but possibly somewhat less satisfactory, language of the German grammars of Brugmann, Kühner-Blass, and Schwyzler, in which the moods are explained as having modal force.

In the recent work of Miss E. A. Hahn (*Subjunctive and Optative* [New York, 1953]), however, the position of Goodwin, that the difference between the moods is one of "vividness," has been restated and reinforced. Miss Hahn does not refer, either in her text or in her bibliography, to any of the numerous writings of Gildersleeve which deal with Greek and Latin moods, although, as founder and then editor of the *American Journal of Philology* for forty years, he repeatedly returned to this subject, and in the opinion of the present writer possessed an insight into the Greek language which has hardly been rivalled. Nor is there mention in Miss Hahn's book of the able article of C. W. E. Miller which relates to the origins of the subjunctive;<sup>39</sup> an article which had the endorsement of Gildersleeve.

The position of Goodwin-Hahn may fairly, I think, be presented in the following table.<sup>40</sup>

TABLE

<i>Name of Tense or Mood</i>	<i>Force</i>
Future tense	Most immediate or vivid futurity
Future with ἄν or κε	Remote most vivid futurity <sup>41</sup>
Subjunctive	Less immediate or vivid futurity
Subjunctive with ἄν or κε	Remote vivid futurity <sup>41</sup>
Optative	Remote futurity
Optative with ἄν or κε	Still more remote futurity <sup>41</sup>

Unfortunately, we possess no minutely graded grammatical *saphenometer* that might enable us to tell at a glance the precise degree of "vividness" of any particular form.

<sup>39</sup> *A. J. P.*, XIII (1892), pp. 399-436, particularly, pp. 418-23.

<sup>40</sup> This table is compiled from Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-4, 79.

<sup>41</sup> Miss Hahn's language (p. 93, n. 222) is: "the particle [ἄν] as adding greater remoteness . . . ." For a neglected study of the modal particles ἄν and κε, see *A. J. P.*, III (1882), pp. 446-55; and *S. C. G.*, 424-7.

Goodwin's terminology was applied by him to examples in the entire range of Greek literature. The Hahn monograph, on the other hand, is a study in origins, or the "Grundbedeutung," as she calls it. She argues that the subjunctive and optative "moods" are tenses, and in doing so she disagrees at some length with the grammarians, modern and particularly ancient, who saw modal force in the moods. Since the ancient grammarians were writing what Miss Hahn would call "descriptive" grammars,<sup>42</sup> and were not concerned with origins, one infers that she would recommend her terminology for all the range of Greek literature.

That the future was originally a mood, that it retains its modality in the participle throughout,<sup>43</sup> that it has not ousted the other infinitives from futural expressions,<sup>44</sup> that it has not ousted the other moods from temporal sentences<sup>45</sup>—these are points which can still be maintained.<sup>46</sup> Examples of the modal future in Attic, with translation "is to," "must," etc., are collected in *S. C. G.*, 267. In the modal character of the future

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>43</sup> Gildersleeve, *A. J. P.*, XXVIII (1907), p. 353: "The fut. participle is distinctly modal in Homer and is found only in the company of verbs of motion as Munro has duly emphasized. The future participle is never simply predicative except in *ὧς* with the future participle, the latest form of *oratio obliqua*, and after verbs of intellectual perception, which, however, from Homer on prefer the *ἔτι* construction. No conditional sense, no causal sense, no adversative sense, no genitive absolute, or at most with rare exceptions. And yet when the latest much lauded 'Go-cart for good little Grecians' counts up the usages of the participle, no hint is given of the coyness of the future participle as there is no explanation of *ὧς οὐ*."

<sup>44</sup> *S. C. G.*, 326.

<sup>45</sup> *A. J. P.*, XXIII (1902), p. 247: "In the dependent sentence it (the future indicative) is confined to a limited sphere from which it has not succeeded in ousting the more exact expressions of temporal relations such as *ὅταν* and *ἐπειδὴν* with present and aorist subjunctive. It has not forced its way into temporal sentences of limit such as *ἕως ἄν* and *πρὶν ἄν*. *ἥν* with present and aorist subjunctive outnumbers *εἰ* with future indicative and the generic relative prefers *ὅς ἄν* with present and aorist subjunctive. Nay, even in the leading clause, the optative with *ἄν* disputes the territory with the future, and the positive future is balanced by the negative optative with *ἄν*."

<sup>46</sup> *A. J. P.*, XXIX (1908), p. 391.



Aken saw long ago the secret of the behaviour of this tense in dependent clauses.<sup>47</sup>

As to the theory of the subjunctive, it would still seem easier to the present writer to get the futural meaning from a deadened imperative than to get the imperative notion out of a simple future. The fact that *μή* is the native negative of the subjunctive would seem to support this.<sup>48</sup> All the uses of the subjunctive in dependent clauses may be referred ultimately to the imperative sense so conspicuous in the leading clause. This in essence is the position of Miller accepted by Gildersleeve.<sup>49</sup>

The easiest way to test the Goodwin-Hahn terminology is to apply it to the optative with *ἄν*. Hahn states throughout that the optative expresses "less vivid futurity." The particle *ἄν*, she asserts, adds "greater remoteness";<sup>50</sup> so the optative with *ἄν* might be called the mood (or "tense": Hahn) of "remote less vivid futurity."

If we turn to the use of this combination in the great mass of Greek literature, we are struck by the fact that it is the one most frequently used to indicate *moral certainty*. It sometimes

<sup>47</sup> *Die Grundzüge der Lehre von Tempus und Modus im Griechischen* (Rostock, 1861), p. 17.

<sup>48</sup> It may be noted that Miss Hahn believes, however, that the modal force lies entirely in the particle *μή*. It is simpler to face the fact that these Greek negative moods present peculiar problems; see *A. J. P.*, XXIII (1902), pp. 132 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *A. J. P.*, XIII (1892), pp. 399-436. As an addition to Miller's discussion, it may be observed that the imperative often represents the protasis of an anticipatory conditional. Xen., *Hiero*, 11, 13: *πλούτιζε μὲν τοὺς φίλους· σπαντὸν γὰρ πλουτιεῖς*. Eur., fr. 467N: *γαμεῖτε νῦν, γαμεῖτε, κατὰ θνήσκετε | ἢ φαρμάκοισιν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἢ δόλοισι*. Conversely, the protasis of the anticipatory conditional is parallel with the imperative, and the negative like that of the imperative is rigorously *μή*. Whereas the negative *οὐ* often occurs in the protasis of other types (*a*. Adhaerent; see Homer, *Il.*, III, 289; IV, 55-6; XX, 129; XXIV, 296. *Od.*, II, 274; XII, 382; XIX, 85, etc. *b*. When *οὐ* is quoted, or belongs to a predetermined group as with *μέν—δέ*: Dem., 45, 23; Lysias, 13, 62; Hdt., I, 212; VII, 9, 1; 10, 8; Eur., *Ion*, 374. *c*. In a causal sense: Dem., 23, 76; Andoc., 1, 33; Thuc., III, 32, 2; Hdt., VII, 46 [2]; Eur., *H. F.*, 1314-15; Homer, *Il.*, IV, 160; IX, 435), it is very rare in the protases of the anticipatory form. Even the adhaerent *οὐ* is very seldom found. I note only Lysias, 13, 76 (*ἐὰν μὲν οὖν φάσκη—ἐὰν δ' οὐ φάσκη—ἐὰν δὲ μή ἔχῃ ἀποδείξει*), which may be compared to the regular use in Dem., 21, 205 (*ἄν τε μή φῶ*).

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 93, n. 222.

serves as a climax to the indicative,<sup>51</sup> and is far from necessarily denoting uncertainty. It varies in tone from strong assurance (*must*) to faint presumption (*might*). Jebb (*ad Soph., Ajax*, 88) wrote: "Among its many shades of meaning, the opt. with *ἄν* sometimes expresses, as here, what the speaker feels he *must* do." (Italics are Jebb's.) Elsewhere (on *Antigone*, 1108) he comments: "optative with *ἄν* expressing a fixed resolve." *Can't* is a frequent rendering for the negative. Especially common is the aorist optative with *ἄν* to express total negation, which, although often translated by the future indicative, is very inadequately so rendered. This combination has been named the potential optative, and scholars, misled by the vague, popular acceptance of the adjective, have thought it expressed merely possibility. This is incorrect. Potentiality has to do with character, and the estimate of character goes back to the opinion of one who makes the estimate.<sup>52</sup> The optative with *ἄν* expresses the opinion of the speaker as an opinion, and may be called the mood of qualified assertion. If we use the term "potential," we must carefully define its meaning.<sup>53</sup>

The force of the optative with *ἄν* may well be brought out in the following passages, which could be multiplied almost indefinitely. These particular passages have been chosen because translations of scholars who admittedly had an excellent feeling for the Greek language are available. The name of the translator is given in parenthesis.

*Soph., Ajax*, 88: μένομι' ἄν, *I must stay* (Jebb)

186: ἦκοι γὰρ ἄν, *It must come* (Jebb)

*Phil.*, 103: οὐκ ἄν λάβεις, *Thou canst not take* (Jebb)

*O. C.*, 45: ὥς οὐχ ἔδρας γε τῇσδ' ἄν ἐξέλοιμι' ἔτι, *For nevermore will I depart from my rest in this land* (Jebb: "fixed resolve")

<sup>51</sup> Homer, *Il.*, II, 158-61; Dem., 21, 191; Thuc., III, 13, 6.

<sup>52</sup> *A. J. P.*, XIX (1898), p. 231. Potential refers to character and has to do with φύσις rather than with τύχη.

<sup>53</sup> In summarizing the thesis of her monograph, Hahn has recently written (*T. A. P. A.*, LXXXIII [1952], p. 251, n. 30): "I hold that the original force . . . of the optative [was] more remote futurity or potentiality." (Italics mine.) On p. 10 of *Subjunctive and Optative*, "less vivid" is equated with "potential." If "more remote futurity" or "less vivid futurity" means "potentiality," have we not departed from the area of tenses into the area of moods?

- O.C.*, 826: ὑμῖν ἄν εἴη . . . καιρὸς, 'Twere time for you (Jebb: "cold sternness")
- Ar., Ach.*, 403: οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἀπέλθοιμ', *No, I'm not going off* (Gildersleeve)
- Pindar, O.*, 2, 20: λάθα δὲ πότμῳ σὺν εὐδαίμονι γένοιτ' ἄν, *Cannot fail to come* (Gildersleeve)
- Homer, Il.*, XXII, 253: ἔλοιμί κεν ἢ κεν ἀλοίην, *I will either slay or be slain* (E. Myers)
- Plato, Ap.*, 25 B: ἄν . . . εἴη, *must be* (Forman, "A freq. transl. of the potent. optative")

The position that the Greek moods originally had modal force is still, I believe, valid; some of the observations made here about Greek have been neglected in the most recent study. But I waive all questions of origin. The problem is the suitable grammatical nomenclature for the conditional sentence in Attic Greek—a nomenclature which will reflect ancient usage. And this usage in the historical period is modal, not temporal alone. The ethnic grammarian of the Greek language must not surrender his materials into the hands of the pre-ethnic scholars, particularly when their interpretations and analyses of phenomena are so varied.<sup>54</sup> The optative with ἄν must not, for example, be called the "tense of less vivid futurity." There are few Greek philologists who keep eyes and ears resolutely shut to the results of comparative grammar, but one is tempted to echo part of the lament of Tycho Mommsen in his preface to his *Beiträge zu der Lehre von den griechischen Praepositionen*: "Es ist jetzt keine günstige Zeit für die classische Philologie. Ihre Nebenschösslinge . . . Linguistik, Germanistik, Neusprachenthum u.s.w. haben sich—nicht, wie mir scheint, zum Heil der allgemeinen Bildung—so blätterreich vorgeedrängt, dass der alte Baum, aus dessen Wurzeln sie entsprossen sind, dem Ersticken nahe ist."

The best guide to Greek moods is of course the usage of the classic authors. But ancient grammatical terminology has also had a part. For "mood," the Latins invented a happy name, *modus*, and the moods have been called the keys of the music of

<sup>54</sup> Before building a theory of moods in Latin and Greek on the welter of moods in Sanskrit, one should be invited to read the now-neglected article, "The Instability of the Use of Moods in Earliest Sanskrit" (*A.J.P.*, XXXIII [1912], pp. 1-29), by a Sanskrit scholar of the highest authority, M. Bloomfield. Cf. Gildersleeve, *A.J.P.*, XXXIII (1912), p. 109. Note also Householder's important review of the Hahn book (*Language*, XXX [1954]), esp. p. 399.

language. The Greek word is ἔγκλις, and "tone," too, is not a bad description; for a mood may be defined as the tone given to the predication by the speaker or writer. This term goes back at least to Dionysius Thrax, who distinguished five *enkliseis*. The participle he did not regard as a *rhema* ("verb," in distinction to *onoma*). At best it is a *metoche*, a participation in both the noun and the verb. Neither *modus* nor *enklisis* gives comfort to the adherent of the "vivid futurity" theory, but there are two phrases used by Apollonius Dyscolus in connection with the moods which have seemed particularly irreconcilable. These phrases are *ψυχικὴ διάθεσις* and *ψυχικὴ ἔννοια*, used synonymously.<sup>55</sup> The term *psychike diathesis* was clearly earlier than Apollonius; for it occurs in a quotation in 320, 4. Apollonius devoted a lengthy section (pp. 320-346 of the Uhlig edition) to the study of the infinitive. He introduced this section with two questions: was the infinitive an *enklisis*, and was it a verb.<sup>56</sup> His answer was that the infinitive was an *enklisis* but that along with person and number it did not possess *psychike diathesis*,<sup>57</sup> which was possessed by the indicative, subjunctive, optative, and imperative. In recent times, Smyth has made exactly the same distinction: "There are four moods proper in Greek: indicative, subjunctive, optative, and imperative. The infinitive (strictly a verbal-noun) . . . may be classed with the moods."<sup>58</sup> Or we may compare the language in the Gildersleeve-Lodge *Latin Grammar*, 253: "The infinitive form of the verb is generally, but improperly, called a mood." In modern terminology the *psychike diathesis* is the "mood proper"; *enklisis* is the general term for mood, proper and improper.

It seems to be essential, however, for the "vivid futurity" adherents, that any mental tone of predication be denied to the Greek moods proper. Accordingly, Miss Hahn has argued that Apollonius uses *psychike diathesis* as "a strictly grammatical term." She renders it by "mood" and *enklisis* by "a mood."<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> 292, 11-12. Cf. Uhlig, p. 529, s. v. *ψυχική*. References to Apollonius are by page and line of the edition of Gustave Uhlig (Part 2, vol. II of *Grammatici Graeci* [Leipzig, 1910]).

<sup>56</sup> 320, 1-2.

<sup>57</sup> 291, 4: *ψυχικῆς διαθέσεως ἢ ἐγκλισις ἀμοιρήσασα*. This is said with reference to the infinitive. Cf. 320, 4-321, 4.

<sup>58</sup> H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges* (New York, 1920), 1760.

<sup>59</sup> *Subjunctive and Optative*, pp. 4-5, n. 10.

But why, one may query, does Apollonius use this particular grammatical term? He had the whole range of Greek vocabulary if he had wanted to express ideas such as time, futurity, vividness, or remoteness. Surely it is not accidental that he chose *psychike diathesis* and used *psychike ennoia* as a synonym. Miss Hahn states in explanation: "If it is asked why Apollonius chose *psychike* 'mental' for that particular use, it can only be said that to answer that question we would have to know something about Apollonius' own 'attitude of mind' in the literal sense!"<sup>60</sup> If I understand this sentence aright, then all effort at interpretation becomes futile.

Apollonius stated that the optative indicated *euktike diathesis*.<sup>61</sup> He treated the subjunctive in a special treatise, now lost, but we know that he preferred the name *hypotaktike*, subjoined or subordinate. Priscian defined moods as follows: "modi sunt diversae inclinationes animi, varios eius affectus demonstrantes."<sup>62</sup> A later grammarian described *enklisis* as *κίνησιν ποιᾶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμφαίνουσα ἢ ὀριστικὴν ἢ προστακτικὴν ἢ εὐκτικὴν ἢ διστακτικὴν*, indicating some sort of mood of the mind, either of definition, or command, or wish, or dubitation. As Gilbert Murray has remarked on this clause, "It needed a great deal of close abstract thinking to arrive at that conception of the 'mood'."<sup>63</sup> In difficult questions of formal grammar we still have occasion to consult the wisdom of the ancients.

The study of syntax is of the utmost importance for the appreciation of literary form. A description of phenomena according to the sphere of usage will be found useful for instruction and even more so for suggestion. The vague terms "vivid," "more vivid," "most vivid," "less vivid," and "remoteness" cannot, unfortunately, be brought to a satisfactory test; but the clear light of Gildersleeve's intellect has illuminated a terminology for the conditional sentence in Attic Greek which seems to this author more felicitous than any other yet formulated.

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<sup>60</sup> *T. A. P. A.*, LXXXII (1951), pp. 43-4.

<sup>61</sup> 351, 8-10.

<sup>62</sup> Hahn (*T. A. P. A.*, LXXXII [1951], pp. 44-8) regards this and similar definitions in the later grammarians as a "misinterpretation of Apollonius' *psychike diathesis*."

<sup>63</sup> *Greek Studies* (Oxford, 1946), p. 184.



## THE RELIABILITY OF MEGASTHENES.

The two most influential writers on India in the ancient world were Megasthenes and Ctesias, of whom the former had spent some time in India,<sup>1</sup> while the latter based his account on such information as he could pick up at the Persian court.<sup>2</sup> Separated in time by a good one hundred years they rub shoulders, like many another ill-assorted pair, in the pages of that industrious compiler, Diodorus Siculus.<sup>3</sup> A scant generation later, writing in Rome like Diodorus, the geographer Strabo makes good use of Megasthenes' work even though he does refer to its author in abusive terms;<sup>4</sup> Ctesias he does not even mention. But despite

<sup>1</sup> Evidence about Megasthenes' life is scanty. All we really know is that he was sent on official business to Sandrocottus (i.e. Chandragupta) (cf. Strabo, II, 1, 9; XV, 1, 36; Arr., *Ind.*, 5, 3), and that for an unknown length of time he was attached to the staff of Sibyrtius the satrap of Arachosia (Arr., *Anab.*, V, 6, 2). Whether his frequent audiences with Sandrocottus involve one or a number of separate trips to Pataliputra is not clear. We hear that he lived under Seleucus (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, p. 132 Sylb.). No one can be sure whether it was Seleucus or Sibyrtius who sent him to Sandrocottus (cf. Müller, *F.H.G.*, IV, 398; O. Stein, "Megasthenes," No. 2, *R.-E.*, XV, cols. 230-1; B. C. J. Timmer, *Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij* [Amsterdam, 1930], pp. 7-8). In what follows it will be unnecessary to dwell on these uncertainties. We shall assume he was Seleucus' envoy, and that he wrote early in the third century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Ctesias was an ebullient doctor from Cnidus who played an exciting role in Persia as personal physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon. Diodorus tells us he was captured in battle, and then spent seventeen years at the Persian court (II, 32, 4). He was prejudiced in favor of Clearchus and the Spartans in general (cf. Plut., *Artax.*, 13, 3; Photius' Excerpts from the *Persica*, 58-60), though his efforts in aiding Conon to obtain command of a Persian fleet later embroiled him with Sparta. However, he was acquitted of all charges in Rhodes (Phot., *Pers.*, 64). For references and discussion see F. Jacoby, "Ktesias," No. 1, *R.-E.*, XI, cols. 2032-7. Jacoby regards the seventeen years as a typical Ctesian exaggeration (2033). He probably left Persia by 398/7 B.C. See also R. Henry, *Ctésias, La Perse, L'Inde* (Brussels, 1947), pp. 4-6. See also the still valuable observations of C. Müller in his *Ctesiae Cnidii Reliquiae* (Paris, 1844, according to the Preface, but bound up with the Didot Herodotus of 1862), pp. 1-11.

<sup>3</sup> Particularly in Book II, 1-42.

<sup>4</sup> Among the liars about India first place is awarded to Deimachus,

this neglect Ctesias survived, and his work on India as well as most of his *Persica* later ornamented the shelves of Photius, the well-known Byzantine churchman and bibliophile.<sup>5</sup> Photius is just as sharp in his judgment of Ctesias as Strabo had been on Megasthenes, but like Strabo he seems most attracted where he finds most to condemn. Strabo, Diodorus, and Photius have this in common. None of them knew India except from books, and none of them, so far as we can tell, had ever met anyone else who had been there. In fact India, which was beginning to be known under Alexander and the Diadochi, recedes farther and farther into the distance until it becomes once more a Never-Never Land, a convenient repository for fabulous monsters and philosophers' dreams. And this was an India where Ctesias and Megasthenes, Nearchus and Philostratus<sup>6</sup> could meet on equal terms.

The re-establishment of India as a part of the oecumene in the modern age has also piqued our curiosity about the older India of the days of the epics and of Buddhism, and, politically, about Chandragupta and his empire. Sanskrit scholars, finding their problems insoluble in terms of Indian sources alone, have turned to the fragments of the Greek historians, while classicists, deploring the paucity of information in Greek writers, have hoped for a helping hand from the other side of the Himalayas. In the search for a satisfactory base of operations Megasthenes' *Indica* has become very important. This is well illustrated by the uncompromising statement made over a century ago by E. A. Schwanbeck, editor of the fragments of Megasthenes:

Nam etsi geographica Graecorum scientia postea demum perfecta est, tamen Indiae cognitio iam Megasthenis libris ad summam perfectionem ita pervenit, ut qui postea de India scripserunt, ad veritatem tanto proprius accedant, quanto accuratius Megasthenis *Indica* sequantur.<sup>7</sup>

but Megasthenes comes second (II, 1, 9). Deimachus was sent as envoy to Sandroctottus' successor. Little else is known about him.

<sup>5</sup> This may be inferred because of Photius' summaries of the *Persica* and the *Indica*. Jacoby argues persuasively that Photius did not depend on an abridgment ("Ktesias," col. 2066).

<sup>6</sup> Philostratus wrote a *Life of Apollonius* which enables us to get a glimpse of India, as the Romans thought of it in the time of Septimius Severus.

<sup>7</sup> E. A. Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn, 1846), p. 76, quoted by Müller, *F. H. G.*, II, p. 401.

The recovery in 1909 of the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya suggested a new approach. Kautilya having been Chandragupta's minister, and Megasthenes having been Seleucus' envoy to Chandragupta's court, it was felt that a comparison between the *Arthashastra* and the fragments of Megasthenes would illuminate this important period in Indian history.<sup>8</sup> It would be unkind to say that efforts to combine these sources have been fruitless, but it would certainly be inaccurate to state that they have been altogether successful. The *Arthashastra* appears to be a composite work, additions and other changes having been made from time to time to bring it in line with later Indian views.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, scholars in the field like Breloer<sup>10</sup> and Stein<sup>11</sup> have been able to find support for their divergent opinions in the *Arthashastra* itself. Barbara Timmer has made an admirable study of Megasthenes in which she considers the fragments individually, with a view to arriving at some judgment on the reliability of that author. However, she has deliberately limited her discussion to the passages dealing with Indian society—omitting such matters as geography, religious practices and myths, animal life, and the remote peoples of India. In imposing these limits on her work, not only does she leave out most of what particularly interested the Greek world, but she also deprives herself of a satisfactory criterion for judging Megasthenes. For there is no other Greek writer whose account of Indian society can now be used to confront that of Megasthenes except on one or two points. Her commentary, therefore, consists primarily in a discussion of the relative accuracy with which various writers reproduce the account of Megasthenes, and in the elucidation of Megasthenes' remarks in terms of the Sanskrit literature. In other words, she has practically turned her back on the Greek background of Megasthenes, preferring to explain such idealizing tendencies as he shows by alluding to Brahmanic precepts rather than to Greek literary influences. But

<sup>8</sup> See especially Timmer, *Megasthenes*, pp. 2; 43-4; also see W. E. Clark in the *Legacy of India* (Oxford, 1937), p. 340.

<sup>9</sup> See Timmer, *Megasthenes*, pp. 42-3; also H. C. Raychaudhuri in *An Advanced History of India*, 2nd ed. (London, 1950), p. 126.

<sup>10</sup> Bernhard Breloer, *Kautilya-Studien*, I: *Das Grundeigentum in Indien* (Bonn, 1927); II: *Altindisches Privatrecht bei Megasthenes und Kautilya* (Bonn, 1928).

<sup>11</sup> O. Stein, "Megasthenes," No. 2, *R.-E.*, XV, cols. 230-326.



have we any more right to assume a communicative Brahman than a Greek writer as influencing Megasthenes on these matters implying a theory of society? Or, if both influences were present, how should we distribute the honors? We do not know how long Seleucus' envoy spent in India, nor whether the interpreters at his disposal were competent to translate any but the most concrete statements of fact from one language into another.<sup>12</sup>

Herodotus went into Egypt under somewhat similar circumstances. That is to say the Greeks had a lively curiosity about Egypt even before his time, and there was already a Greek literary tradition.<sup>13</sup> Like Megasthenes, Herodotus had some ideas in his head of what he would find when he left for his admittedly brief visit,<sup>14</sup> and like Megasthenes he was dependent on interpreters.<sup>15</sup> Opinions about Herodotus' Egyptian digression have varied widely in the period since he wrote, but there will be less fluctuation in the future, for he can now be judged in the light of archaeological discoveries. We know a good deal about Egypt from evidence entirely independent of Herodotus and the other classical writers. Eventually this should also apply to Megasthenes, but evidently the Indian archaeologist has a long way to go before he overtakes his Egyptian confrère.

<sup>12</sup> Miss Timmer is not unaware of these difficulties. She notes how different scholars have seen proof of contradictory philosophic influences in Megasthenes' account of the Brahmans. Therefore, she argues that the resemblances are too vague for identification (*Megasthenes*, p. 9). However, Megasthenes might well be eclectic. The real question is, are his ideas Greek or are they Indian? If Indian they would no doubt be vague, because of the difficulties of communication. Need they be precise simply because they are Greek?

<sup>13</sup> Of the earlier Greek writers on Egypt, Hecataeus of Miletus is the best known. See Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, I, 1<sup>7</sup>, pp. 693-701; Gaetano De Sanctis, *Studi di Storia della Storiografia greca* (Florence, 1951), pp. 3-19.

<sup>14</sup> For Herodotus' Egyptian journey see John L. Myres, *Herodotus, Father of History* (Oxford, 1953), p. 8. Jacoby accepts the view that he spent no more than four months in Egypt. See his "Herodotos," No. 7, *R.-E.*, Supp. II, cols. 277-8.

<sup>15</sup> To the very real difficulties of translating at all are added the fact that the interpreter is apt to have only a surface understanding of the language, suitable for assisting the traveller in making his wants known, but quite inadequate for serious discussion. And who can check the interpreter if he chooses to oversimplify or even to improvise, rather than reveal his own inadequacies?

This may be illustrated by referring to a recent and admirably lucid survey by Stuart Piggott. Towards the end of his book he refers to Megasthenes and his "objective account of the civilization in which he found himself," and then adds: "He presents a picture of a regime . . . *fully literate* (italics mine), urban, highly organized."<sup>16</sup> Yet in the fragments we read: ". . . they (i.e. the Indians) have no written laws *for they do not know how to write* but manage everything by memory"<sup>17</sup> It may be added that Piggott goes on to point out specific resemblances between Megasthenes' account of Indian society and the Harappa culture, but he has also made it clear that the archaeological evidence for the Harappa culture comes from the third millennium B. C., perhaps 2000 years before Megasthenes.<sup>18</sup> Further excavations are needed, and in the area described by Megasthenes, before the archaeologist can be of any great assistance to us in evaluating Greek accounts of India.

And this brings us back to Ctesias who, unlike Megasthenes, is a known quantity. We may paraphrase Schwanbeck's dictum, quoted above, and say: *Ancient writers on India are reliable in inverse relation to their dependence on Ctesias*. Obviously, even a writer like Ctesias occasionally preserves valuable evidence, but it is evidence we cannot trust without confirmation from a less imaginative source. Clearly, Ctesias was in an enviable position to obtain factual information on Persia, and thanks to the close relations between the two countries, on India as well.<sup>19</sup> For example, when he describes the Martichora with the face of a man, three rows of teeth, stingers in his tail, and a taste for human flesh,<sup>20</sup> he *may* be reproducing the design seen

<sup>16</sup> Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India to 1000 B. C.* (Penguin Books, Reprinted 1952), p. 287.

<sup>17</sup> See Müller, *F. H. G.*, II, p. 421, Megasthenes, fr. 27; Strabo, XV, 1, 53.

<sup>18</sup> Sir Mortimer Wheeler, writing for the *Cambridge History of India, Supplementary Volume* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 84, speaks of the "latter half of the third millennium and the earlier centuries of the second."

<sup>19</sup> See Jacoby, "Ktesias," No. 1, *R.-E.*, XI, col. 2037, where he discusses the kind of information about India obtainable in Persia. He does say India was not as well known in Ctesias' day as Africa (2038). For Ctesias' failure to make use of his opportunities, see *ibid.*, col. 2045.

<sup>20</sup> Following text of R. Henry (*Ctésias*, etc. [Brussels, 1947]), Phot., *Ind.*, 7, we read *μαρτιχόρα*. The word is Persian and means "man

on some Indian article of commerce,<sup>21</sup> and the mythical creature depicted by the artist *may* owe its origin to the tiger which actually does live in India; but if any later Greek writer, even one who has been to India, includes a similar description in his work, the chances are worth taking that he borrowed it from Ctesias. The extent to which such borrowings occur ought to give us the basis for a negative judgment.

Ctesias' *Indica* is the earliest Greek work on the subject known to us. Originally a slender treatise, the contents have been quite generously preserved by Photius' thirty-two chapter summary. For the twenty-three book *Persica* we are not nearly so well off. Chiefly we depend on Photius' sixty-four chapter summary of the last seventeen books, on the Excerpts of the first two books of the lost *History* of Nicolaus of Damascus, and on the first thirty-four chapters of the second book of the *Historical Library* of Diodorus Siculus.<sup>22</sup> The *Persica* is relevant to our inquiry because of the story it contained of Semiramis and her attempt to conquer India. Since this story falls somewhere in the first six books of Ctesias,<sup>23</sup> we are forced to rely on the evidence of

eater," thus proving that Ctesias got this account through a Persian intermediary (Jacoby, "Ktesias," col. 2038). For the Martichora see also Müller, *Ctes.*, frs. 64, 65, 66, 67.

<sup>21</sup> This idea appeals to Jacoby ("Ktesias," col. 2038). Perhaps the older view of Baehr, that it was an article of Persian manufacture, is to be preferred (*Ctesiae Unidii Reliquiae* [Frankfurt on Main, 1824]); Baehr is quoted as follows in Müller's *Ctesiae*, p. 92 b: "Est enim hoc animal in iis fictis animalibus, quibus Persarum artifices delectabantur ad varias res exprimendas adornandasve . . . in quibus ipsis fuisse Martichoram a Ctesia descriptum, hocque animal ab iisdem artificibus pro Indico—in terris incognitis fabulosisque, tot rerum miraculosarum plenius habitante—esse venditum, mihi quidem plane est persuasum." Jacoby finds the account of hunting the "tiger" (*sic!*) perfectly factual ("Ktesias," col. 2038, line 24). This account is contained in one sentence of Photius (*Ind.*, 7 *ad fin.*), and refers to the Martichora, which he says "abounds in India." They kill these animals by shooting down at them from the backs of elephants. It may be added that the Martichora, like the porcupine of fable, shoots darts at its enemies, and shoots them a distance of 100 feet.

<sup>22</sup> See Henry, *Ctésias*, pp. 8-9, where he mentions the manuscripts used by him and not used by earlier editors. The summaries both come from Codex 72 of the *Library* of Photius (*ibid.*, pp. 3-4).

<sup>23</sup> Photius tells us as much (*Pers.*, 1) when he says: 'Αλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς πρώτοις ἕξ, τὰ τε Ἀσσύρια διαλαμβάνει καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν. The

Nicolaus and Diodorus. Both authors present problems in that, unlike Photius, neither contents himself with merely transcribing or abbreviating a single source. Both were writing universal histories which, as Jacoby says, must always be compilations rather than proper histories.<sup>24</sup> It would be out of place, here, to discuss current theories on just how Diodorus and Nicolaus set about their task. It is sufficient to recognize that the problem of their sources is a complex one, and to refer to Jacoby's statement that both writers used Ctesias without an intermediary.<sup>25</sup> However, Jacoby believes that Nicolaus has two main sources for his history of the ancient east, Ctesias and also Xanthus of Lydia.<sup>26</sup> In which, if in either, did he read of the Indian campaign of Semiramis? In Diodorus' second book there are eleven references to Ctesias by name, but only one of these is directly associated with Semiramis' Indian campaign.<sup>27</sup> Even here Diodorus merely cites Ctesias' figures for the size of the army she assembled in Bactria for the invasion of India. Now Megasthenes said that Semiramis prepared to attack India, but died before putting her plan into effect.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, if we are to determine the relationship between Megasthenes and Ctesias it becomes imperative to decide whether Ctesias' Semiramis died before carrying out her projected invasion, or not. Previous discussions of Diodorus, II, 1-34 have failed to emphasize that the Indian cam-

obvious explanation for his beginning the summary with Book VII is that Books I-VI were not available to him. For the Excerpts of Nicolaus, I have followed Jacoby's text (*F. Gr. H.*, II A, No. 90).

<sup>24</sup> See Jacoby, *F. Gr. H.*, II C, p. 233.

<sup>25</sup> Diodorus' direct use of Ctesias was clearly demonstrated earlier by P. Krumbholz ("Diodors Assyrische Geschichte," *Rhein. Mus.*, XLI [1886], p. 326). One detail not noticed before, to my knowledge, is the use of the word "cinnabar" in Diod., II, 14, 4. Apparently Ctesias was fond of this unusual word (e.g. Phot., *Ind.*, 7; 21; 25). It is interesting that this word is found only in Diodorus and in Photius, while it does not occur in the other fragments of Ctesias. This is added confirmation for the view that Photius and Diodorus used Ctesias without an intermediary.

<sup>26</sup> See *F. Gr. H.*, II C, p. 233. For Xanthus, see Schmid-Stählin, *G. gr. Lit.*, I, 17, pp. 704-7.

<sup>27</sup> Viz., II, 17, 1. Other references in Book II are: 2, 2; 5, 4; 7, 1; 7, 3; 7, 4; 8, 5; 15, 2; 20, 3; 21 *ad fin.*; 32, 4. Ctesias is also cited in I, 56 and in XIV, 46, 6.

<sup>28</sup> See Müller, *F. H. G.*, II, Megasthenes, frs. 20, 21.

paign is in the nature of a long digression, not necessarily derived from Diodorus' main source on Semiramis.<sup>29</sup>

Martin Braun's thoughtful essay suggests another way of looking at the Semiramis story. Briefly stated, he holds that the Persian conquest led to the invention of compensatory legends by the conquered peoples, tales of past greatness which served to make present subjection more tolerable. Ninus, Semiramis, and Nectanebus, among others, became the leading figures of a popular fiction which reflected both the ancient rivalry between Babylonian and Egyptian societies and their mutual resentment of the Persian conqueror.<sup>30</sup> From the nature of things these tales showed great variety, there being no way to set up any canon of authenticity. A change came about in the Hellenistic period,<sup>31</sup> but that may be disregarded for the present. Alexander apparently believed that Semiramis had invaded India, and that she had barely managed to escape with a few companions, fleeing westward through the unpleasant Gedrosian desert.<sup>32</sup> Accepting Braun's theory about these legends in general, what people would have invented such a story? Evidently the national vanity of the Babylonians would not have inspired such a military fiasco, and it is difficult to see how any Indian legend of attempted conquest and failure, even had such a legend existed, would have become known to the Greeks before Alexander. There is, however, one possibility that should be considered. More than a century and a half before Alexander, Darius stood at the head of an invincible army. For a time there seemed no limits set to the swelling empire of Persia.<sup>33</sup> Like the great Macedonian, he advanced

<sup>29</sup> E. g. Carl Jacoby, "Ktesias und Diodor, eine Quellenuntersuchung von Diodor B II c. 1-34," *Rhein. Mus.*, XXX (1875), pp. 555-615; Paul Krumbholz, "Diodors assyrische Geschichte," *Rhein. Mus.*, XLI (1886), pp. 321-41; "Wiederholungen bei Diodor," *Rhein. Mus.*, XLIV (1889), pp. 286-98; "Zu den Assyriaka des Ktesias," *Rhein. Mus.*, L (1895), pp. 205-40; LII (1897), pp. 237-85; Felix Jacoby, "Ktesias," No. 1, *R.-E.*, XI, cols. 2032-73, but esp. cols. 2051 ff.

<sup>30</sup> See M. Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford, 1938), Ninus and Semiramis, pp. 6 ff.; Nectanebus, pp. 19 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 1 ff.

<sup>32</sup> See Jacoby, *F. Gr. H.*, II B, No. 133, Nearchus fr. 3a, b. Nearchus is perhaps our most reliable writer on Alexander.

<sup>33</sup> De Sanctis appears to believe that it was the spectacular growth of Persia that first gave the Greeks a sense of history. See his *Studi di Storia della Storiografia greca* (Florence, 1951), esp. pp. 27 ff.



into India, and then directed his attention to the sea route from the Indus to the Red Sea. Like Alexander later, Darius might well have been flattered by the comparison with the earlier unsuccessful attempt of Semiramis, and this might have found expression in the lost work of that celebrated navigator, Scylax of Caryanda.<sup>34</sup> This attractive possibility should be dismissed, albeit reluctantly, on chronological grounds. Semiramis herself is a complex figure, owing her name to Sammu-ramat of Assyria,<sup>35</sup> many of her attributes to the dove-goddess of Ascalon, and her popularity to the spurious notion that she had founded Babylon.<sup>36</sup> An essential part of the story is her union with Ninus the eponymous builder of Nineveh, and this presupposes the reconciliation of older hostile relations between Assyria and Babylonia.<sup>37</sup> Such a development, fostered by the conquest of Assyria and Babylonia, could hardly have been complete so soon after 539 B. C. Also, it is probable that with his interest in India, Herodotus would have told us about Semiramis' attack, had he found it mentioned in Scylax.

Ctesias' contemporary, Xenophon, also has something to say about India. It is worth noting that his references, like those of Herodotus, are uniformly favorable, and that all of them occur in his idealized biography of Cyrus.<sup>38</sup> Cyrus, great conqueror though he is, never dreams of attacking India, but regards the moral support of India as greatly to be desired. Incidentally, nowhere does Xenophon refer to Semiramis. Yet he must have read the *Persica*.<sup>39</sup> However, Xenophon does not

<sup>34</sup> On Scylax, see Herod., IV, 44; Strabo, XIV, 2, 20. J. L. Myres suggests, on what seems scanty evidence, that Scylax sailed down the Ganges rather than the Indus (*Herodotus*, p. 39). For further discussion of Scylax, see Fritz Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Grosse, Ingenium und Macht* (Graz, Salzburg, Vienna, 1949), pp. 364 ff. For Darius and India, see G. B. Gray, *C. A. H.*, IV, p. 183. For an enthusiastic appraisal of Darius, see Ernst Kornemann, *Weltgeschichte des Mittelmeer-Raumes* (Munich, 1948), I, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>35</sup> See M. Braun, *History and Romance*, p. 7.

<sup>36</sup> See esp. P. Krumbholz, *Rhein. Mus.*, LII, pp. 284 f.; also Braun, p. 7 and also n. 2 on p. 7.

<sup>37</sup> Braun, p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Viz. *Cyrop.*, I, 1, 4; 5, 3; II, 4, 1; III, 2, 25; VI, 2, 1; 2, 9. He does refer elsewhere to the famous Indian dogs (*Cyneg.*, 9, 1; 10, 1).

<sup>39</sup> To judge by *Anab.*, I, 8, 27.

allude to Herodotus' account of the death of Cyrus, because to have done so would have marred the portrait of Cyrus he wished to present. In writing a historical romance he feels no obligation to give variants.

Since the account of Semiramis' unsuccessful Indian expedition was known to Alexander,<sup>40</sup> but was not mentioned by Herodotus or by Xenophon, and since its invention cannot be attributed to the Syro-Babylonian subjects of Persia, Ctesias emerges as the most likely originator of the tale, and Ctesias was a writer well known to Alexander. Despite the fact that Diodorus' only reference to Ctesias in his account of the Indian campaign (II, 17, 1) concerns Semiramis' preparations, we may be confident that the Semiramis of Ctesias lived to carry out her plan and to suffer an ignominious defeat. This also makes it probable that when Nicolaus of Damascus refers to Semiramis' Indian expedition, he is following Ctesias, not Xanthus. Megasthenes deserves to be commended for rejecting this colorful story. However, the very passage that proves his distrust of Ctesias raises other questions bearing on the reliability of Megasthenes. That passage may be translated as follows:

(6) But what confidence can we rightly have in Indian history connected with expeditions like those of Cyrus or Semiramis? Megasthenes tends to support this attitude, urging us not to believe the old stories about India, because the Indians never sent an army outside, and were never attacked and conquered from without, except by Heracles and Dionysus, and recently by the Macedonians. To be sure Sesostris the Egyptian and Tearco the Ethiopian advanced as far as Europe, and Nabocodrosor, who is more famous among the Chaldaeans than Heracles, got as far as the Pillars. Tearco also reached this point, but Sesostris led his army from Iberia to Thrace and the Pontus. Idanthyrus the Scythian overran Asia as far as Egypt. But none of these reached India, while Semiramis died before the attempt. The Persians recruited the Indian Hydracae as mercenaries, but they did not invade India; they only came close to doing so when Cyrus marched against the Massagetae.

(7) Now Megasthenes and a few other writers regard the accounts of Heracles and Dionysus as trustworthy, but most

<sup>40</sup> R. Henry suggests that Ctesias might even claim part of the credit for bringing about Alexander's Asiatic expedition. See his *Ctésias*, p. 8.

of the rest, including Eratosthenes, regard them as incredible and mythical, like the Greek stories about them.<sup>41</sup>

This fragment betrays Megasthenes. Rejecting one myth he has made room for others, preferring the more recent fabrications of the Alexander historians to the outmoded mendacity of Ctesias. Also, even his rejection is not all we might desire, for he concedes that Semiramis' invasion was frustrated only by her death.<sup>42</sup> Nothing could illustrate better Megasthenes' limitations as a historian. He evidently begins with an *idée fixe*, that "the Indians launched no campaigns against other peoples, nor did others against them."<sup>43</sup> This sounds like a gnomic statement, to be associated with Greek ideas about the Indians and other peoples living at the edges of the world; such peoples were usually endowed with all the virtues, and tainted with none of the cardinal sins like avarice and greed. Theopompus, in his own sardonic fashion, had already commented on this prevailing Greek attitude. The warriors of Machimus, least perfect of the remote peoples, once visited our world, and were so repelled by the morality of the Hyperboreans—the best people in our world—that they withdrew in disgust.<sup>44</sup> But Theopompus' historical intelligence was of a much higher order than that of Megasthenes, in that he devotes a whole section of his justly celebrated *Philippica* to Θαυμάσια ("Marvels"), and by segregating this material evidently distinguishes between history and myth.<sup>45</sup> Megasthenes' fragments do not suggest a similar clear-cut distinction. While rejecting Semiramis as an invader, he adopts specious etymological arguments to show that Dionysus *had* invaded India, and probably Heracles as well.<sup>46</sup> Yet he rejects

<sup>41</sup> Strabo, XV, 1, 6-7; Müller, *F. H. G.*, II, Megasthenes, fr. 20.

<sup>42</sup> This is stated even more clearly in fr. 21, Arr., *Ind.*, 5, 7: Σεμίραμιν δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίην ἐπιχειρεῖν μὲν στέλλεσθαι εἰς Ἰνδοὺς, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ πρὶν τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖσι βουλευμασιν . . .

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 5, 4: . . . οὐτε Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιστρατεῦσαι οὐδαμοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν, οὐτε Ἰνδοῖσιν ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους.

<sup>44</sup> See Jacoby, *F. Gr. H.*, II B, No. 115, fr. 75; and my *Onesicritus, A Study in Hellenistic Historiography* (U. of Calif. P., 1949), p. 65.

<sup>45</sup> Jacoby believes Θαυμάσια to be the title of a part of the *Philippica*, rather than that of a collection of excerpts from the work as a whole (*F. Gr. H.*, II D, p. 365, lines 17 ff.).

<sup>46</sup> See Müller, *F. H. G.*, II, Megasthenes, fr. 21. It would be interesting to know whether Megasthenes got this from Clitarchus. W. W.



the historically sound report of the Persian invasion of India in favor of a garbled story of their use of Indians as mercenaries.

Ctesias wrote about the gold-guarding griffins in his *Indica*.<sup>47</sup> Megasthenes rejects this bit of fable, but again he rejects it only in favor of another version, equally unsound. He reverts, this time, to the older Herodotean tale of the gold-digging ants. However, it is only fair to note that, according to Arrian, Megasthenes expressed doubts, saying that his information came only by "hearsay."<sup>48</sup> This is a strange qualification. When Herodotus visited Egypt he reported certain matters on the basis of his own observation (*ὄψις*), others as known to him only by hearsay (*ἀκοή*). The emphasis, so far as *ἀκοή* is concerned, would be on what he was told by his informants in Egypt, rather than on a literary source.<sup>49</sup> Also, whenever possible, Herodotus followed up his "hearsay" evidence by further investigation, by *ιστορίη* proper.<sup>50</sup> No one will believe that Megasthenes did this, that he tested the rival ant and gryphon theories by interrogating the Indians. He evidently made up his mind on the basis of the written accounts. This example serves to warn us not to assume an Indian source for Megasthenes when there was a Greek literary source at hand. It also suggests an interpreta-

Tarn has argued vigorously that Clitarchus did not write before 280, perhaps not until 260 (*Alexander the Great*, II, *Sources and Studies* [Cambridge, 1948], p. 21), and that he definitely wrote later than Megasthenes (*ibid.*, p. 76). A recent article takes up the cudgels for an early Clitarchus date, and a late date for Aristobulus (Fritz R. Wüst, "Die Rede Alexanders des Grossen in Opis, Arrian VII 9-10," in *Historia*, II, 2, pp. 177-88). Earlier C. Jacoby tried to prove that the chief source for Diod., II, 1-34 was a Hellenistic writer with close ties in Egypt, preferably Clitarchus (*Rhein. Mus.*, XXX [1875], pp. 555-615); then J. Marquart suggested Agatharchides of Cnidus as the author (*Philologus*, Supp. 6, pp. 503 ff.). However, neither view has found favor since Krumbholz demolished them (see *Rhein. Mus.*, XLIV, pp. 286-98; L, pp. 205-40; for others see n. 29 above).

<sup>47</sup> See Phot., *Ind.*, 12.

<sup>48</sup> Megasthenes' account of these ants is vouched for both by Strabo (XV, 1, 44) and by Arrian (*Ind.*, 15, 5), printed in Müller's *F.H.G.*, II, as Meg., fr. 39. It is Arrian who speaks of "hearsay." Presumably he is echoing Megasthenes' words rather than making an observation of his own.

<sup>49</sup> For discussion, see Myres, *Herodotus*, esp. pp. 9 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* for discussion and references.

tion of Megasthenes less flattering than prevailing views.<sup>51</sup> One may grant that he was a keen observer of the life around him, and that he was able to put down in writing a reasonably accurate description of what he saw and heard. This qualifies him as a journalist; it does not show that he was a historian, for it implies no ability to evaluate conflicting testimony. Where he must rely on the accounts of others, it cannot be said that Megasthenes shows critical ability in any way superior to that of his predecessors, or that he was led by his stay in India to distrust the exaggerations of fable. He, too, had pygmies who fight with cranes, only adding verisimilitude by the detail that cranes had been found later, with the points of miniature weapons still embedded in their flesh. He, too, accepts the long-lived Hyperboreans of Simonides and Pindar,<sup>52</sup> and the Barking Men of Ctesias.<sup>53</sup> He knew the more recent literature as well, for he borrows from Baeton, one of Alexander's *itinerum mensores*. Baeton tells us that certain wild men with "feet reversed" (*aversis post crura plantis*) could not be brought in to see Alexander or other reigning potentates because of their inability to breathe any but their native air.<sup>54</sup> Interestingly enough, Megasthenes gives the same reason to explain why certain savages had never been brought before Sandrocottus (i. e. Chandragupta).<sup>55</sup> Megasthenes appears to have been familiar with Onesicritus' book about Alexander, a work in which India seems to have been treated at some length; but he adapts Onesicritus to suit his own purposes. For while Onesicritus reports that there were no slaves in the Land of Musicanus, Megasthenes goes so far as to say that there were no slaves in all India.<sup>56</sup> He also seems to have made use of Onesicritus' imaginative de-

<sup>51</sup> Miss Timmer, in summing up the results of her able study, scrupulously avoids exaggerated statements about Megasthenes' ability and also about his understanding of India (*Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij*, esp. p. 300).

<sup>52</sup> See *F. H. G.*, II, Meg., fr. 30.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, fr. 31.

<sup>54</sup> See Jacoby, *F. Gr. H.*, II B, No. 119, fr. 5. Baeton is writing about the Scythian Anthropophagi.

<sup>55</sup> See *F. H. G.*, II, Meg., fr. 30. He can hardly be referring to the Scythians here, ubiquitous though they are. He has simply found Baeton's explanation a convenient one, and used it in a different context.

<sup>56</sup> See *F. H. G.*, II, Meg., fr. 27 and *F. Gr. H.*, II B, No. 134, fr. 25.

scription of Taprobane (i. e. Ceylon),<sup>57</sup> and when he refers to the grain called *bosporum* he is following the same source.<sup>58</sup> Many other examples might be cited to show Megasthenes' acquaintance with the Alexander historians, but enough has already been said to indicate the way he used them.

On the animal life of India both domesticated and wild we have a right to expect a great improvement in Megasthenes over his predecessors, because of his unique opportunities for observation. To some extent the fragments justify this hope. His description of elephant hunting and also his account of the dancing elephants are excellent, as are his remarks about Indian horses.<sup>59</sup> However, when he says the tiger is "almost twice the size of a lion," and that "a tame tiger led by four men seized a mule by the hind leg and dragged it in by main force,"<sup>60</sup> we wonder whether this is based on *ὄψις* or *ἀκοή*! Megasthenes also speaks of "horses with a single horn, and a head like a deer."<sup>61</sup> This reminds one of Ctesias' one-horned wild asses.<sup>62</sup> Ctesias' unicorn may have been suggested by the Indian rhinoceros, but if so, the connection is as remote as that between the tiger and the Martichora, discussed above. Now Aelian gives us the following description:

There is also said to live there (i. e. in the remote parts of India) an animal with a single horn, which they call a Cartazonus. This creature is as large as a full grown horse and has a mane and soft yellow hair. It is provided with excellent legs and is very swift, for the legs resemble those of the elephant, being without joints. The tail is like a pig's. Between the eyebrows it has a horn growing, not

<sup>57</sup> See *F. H. G.*, II, Meg., fr. 16, where we are told that the inhabitants of Taprobane produce more gold and more pearls than the Indians. Onesicritus (*F. Gr. H.*, II B, No. 134, frs. 12, 13) speaks of Taprobane as lying farther south than any other island, and as nourishing larger and fiercer elephants than the Indian mainland. He evidently devoted some attention to Taprobane, and his account must necessarily have been highly imaginative.

<sup>58</sup> For Megasthenes, see Diod., II, 36, 3-4; for Onesicritus, see *F. Gr. H.*, II B, No. 134, fr. 15.

<sup>59</sup> *F. H. G.*, II, Meg., frs. 37, 38 (elephants); 36a (horses).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, fr. 10.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, fr. 13.

<sup>62</sup> See Phot., *Ind.*, 25.

symmetrically but with natural twists. The horn is said to be very sharp and black.<sup>63</sup>

Here we have a faulty but still recognizable impression of a rhinoceros, and a correction of Ctesias for which Aelian's author, almost certainly Megasthenes, deserves full credit. But what can one say about the following passage, where Aelian acknowledges his debt to Megasthenes?

Megasthenes says that in India there are huge scorpions with wings, and that they drive in their stingers just as the European species do. Also there are snakes with wings. They do not go out by day, but at night only, and they release their urine which, if allowed to touch the person, causes immediate putrefaction. These things are said by Megasthenes.<sup>64</sup>

And now we must try to sort out our impressions of Megasthenes, and his place in Greek historiography. On the credit side we must admit that he frequently corrects his literary sources by the evidence of his own experience; and this justifies some confidence in his description of Indian society at the court of Chandragupta, where he can have had no Greek source at all. The difficulties of language necessarily make his understanding a superficial one, but it is a great deal to be able to rely on his integrity. Integrity, in fact, is his strongest claim to recognition, for where critical sense is required he cannot always be trusted. Megasthenes was not the man to sift earlier accounts and reach a carefully thought out opinion about them. Consequently, when he gets away from the part of India he knows he is only as reliable as the source he follows, and we cannot be sure he is following the best available source. How far he was able to transmit the substance of what Indian acquaintances told him cannot be determined in the present state of our evidence. Megasthenes needs archaeological support just as much as Kautilya does. It should be remembered that he did not expect to become an Indian classic. He could scarcely have foreseen that time was running out for the Greeks in India, and that more than 2000 years later even the fragments of his travel notes would be precious. Nevertheless, Schwanbeck's statement is still defensi-

<sup>63</sup> Ael., *N. A.*, XVI, 20 (printed in *F. H. G.*, II after Meg., fr. 13).

<sup>64</sup> *F. H. G.*, II, Meg., fr. 12.

ble, that later writers on India owe their value to the fidelity with which they reproduce Megasthenes; Megasthenes also shows up pretty well in our negative test, for he seems, more often than not, to have turned his back on Ctesias. But all this is not so much a tribute to his superior abilities, as it is an expression of the melancholy state of our knowledge about ancient India. Perhaps the best that can honestly be said is that while Megasthenes might well have proved to be a Sir John Mandeville, he deserves our respect instead as a third century Marco Polo.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> It may be added, also, that without Megasthenes' *Indica* Eratosthenes would have failed to write an intelligible account of Indian geography.

## VIRGIL'S ACCEPTANCE OF OCTAVIAN.

Biographers of Virgil have always had to face the fact that the poet's external life was a relatively uneventful one. After certain early mishaps he lived from about 39 B. C. in Rome or near Naples in the circle of Maecenas, financially supported and artistically encouraged by this elegant Etruscan and by Octavian. Virgil never married; as far as we know he never held state office.

The one thread which seems to link him to the history of his day is his acceptance of Octavian, later Augustus, as the bringer of peace and a healer of the wounds of the Roman civil wars; this thread, accordingly, has been much emphasized by those who try to relate his outward and inward lives. Inevitably its significance has been overemphasized, but there can be no doubt that a just appreciation of this relationship can throw considerable light on the mind of the poet—and on the historical position of Octavian.

### I.

In each of the major works of Virgil there is clear evidence that the poet had accepted the heir of Caesar who became master of the Roman world. Of the ten *Eclogues* only the First refers to Octavian, and that indirectly; but Octavian is unmistakably the "praesens deus" who deserves sacrifice for his benefactions. The *Georgics* are fuller in their praise of Octavian, and as Augustus the founder of the Roman Empire receives a majestic treatment in Virgil's last work, the *Aeneid*. The ancient lives of the poet and the scholiasts construe these references liberally and add other testimony; in the collection of poems purported to be the earliest product of Virgil, the Virgilian Appendix, Octavian appears at several points. Notable among these is the poem *Culex*, which is addressed to Octavian as a boy, "Octavi venerande . . . sancte puer."

Relying upon this evidence, modern students of Virgil have usually constructed a picture of a lasting friendship between Virgil and Octavian, the beginning of which they date to the mid-40's or earlier. The most extreme statement of this relationship is that in Tenney Frank's biography of Virgil. The



notice of the Berne manuscript that Octavian and Virgil were fellow students of rhetoric under the master Epidius Frank considered "not unreasonable," though he admitted the difference of seven years in the pupils' ages and could not deny the weak authority of the source. The *Culex*, presumably written in 48 B. C., he accepted as a firm testimony of the early acceptance of Octavian by Virgil.<sup>1</sup>

In many of his arguments Frank went farther than others would go, but the general tenor of modern opinion endorses almost without question his picture of a well-nigh innate tendency of Virgil to cling to Octavian. The main controversy on the relation of the two revolves about the determination of the manner in which Virgil was a publicist for the Augustan regime. One faction would call him "un propagandiste habile, sincère, reconnaissant et soumis"<sup>2</sup>—a mouthpiece in short—while others would grant him true independence of mind as a poetic *vates* who endorsed of his own free will the Augustan program. The issue is a serious one, but it is not the only problem. Can we, indeed, properly assume that Virgil always supported Octavian, or did he *come* to this acceptance?

On this point direct indication might be sought in the ancient tradition, in the Virgilian Appendix, or in the *Eclogues*; but a satisfactory solution must also take into account Octavian's policies from 44 to 36 B. C. Quite generally, and perhaps too sweepingly, modern scholarship has come to feel that the ancient lives of the poet are, as Frank described that by Donatus, "a conglomeration of a few chance facts set into a mass of later conjecture derived from a literal-minded interpretation of the *Eclogues*."<sup>3</sup> It is well-nigh incredible that some of those who have exercised their critical faculties on the lives have then swallowed the Virgilian Appendix in large doses as comprising genuine early works of Virgil, but others have thrown it out even more ruthlessly than the lives.<sup>4</sup> The only certain manner,

<sup>1</sup> Tenney Frank, *Vergil: A Biography* (New York, 1922), pp. 18, 28 ff.; cf. p. 89, "Octavian, to whom Vergil was always devoted." The Berne notice may be found in Ernst Diehl, *Die Vitae Virgilianae und ihre antiken Quellen* (Bonn, 1911), p. 44, ll. 20-1.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Bardon, *Les Empereurs et les lettres latines d'Auguste à Hadrien* (Paris, 1940), p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Frank, *Vergil*, p. v; Diehl, *Die Vitae*, pp. 4-7.

<sup>4</sup> For the arguments cf. *pro* Frank, E. K. Rand, "Young Virgil's

then, to gain reliable information on Virgil's early attitude is to turn to the *Eclogues*, and those students who have done so have not failed to notice that in these poems the usually gentle Virgil was sharply critical of certain Octavianic policies and of the henchmen who executed those policies.<sup>5</sup> So far as I know, however, the glow of the later, assured friendship of Virgil for Octavian has prevented scholars from drawing an obviously possible conclusion—to wit, that Virgil did not always support Octavian. It is, I think, far more likely that Virgil came to accept Octavian, and that the process of acceptance is manifested in the *Eclogues* themselves.

## II.

Why, indeed, should Virgil have been drawn to Octavian when that youth of 18 came back in 44 B. C. from Dyrrachium to claim his inheritance of Caesar's fortune and Caesar's name? Driven by his cold ambition and by a fiery determination to avenge Caesar's murder, Octavian scarcely could have offered any appeal to a young man of Virgil's temperament. In the next year Octavian reconciled himself with Antony; one mark of that reconciliation was the ruthless proscription which filled the streets of Rome and the paths of Italy with murderers. Secretly Octavian may already have envisioned himself as an eventual pacifier, but his outward policy was all too clearly ruthless down to the end of the 40's as he twisted and turned to keep his life, to gain a commanding position, and to secure vengeance on the assassins of Caesar.<sup>6</sup>

Poetry," *H. S. C. P.*, XXX (1919), pp. 108-85; *contra*, H. R. Fairclough in his Loeb translation (1937) and Jérôme Carcopino's overly subtle argument, "A propos du Catalepton," *Rev. Phil.*, XLVI (1922), pp. 156-84.

<sup>5</sup> For example, T. R. Glover, *Virgil*, 3d ed. (London, 1915), pp. 25-6, 154-5; Robert S. Conway, *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), pp. 32-5; and even Frank, *Vergil*, p. 129, notes that the plaint of the First Eclogue is "so poignant one wonders in what mood Octavian read it."

<sup>6</sup> On the rise of Octavian down through 36, see generally M. P. Charlesworth, *Cambridge Ancient History*, X (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 1-30, 43-7, 55-65, with bibliography there cited; or in greater detail T. Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1928). The development of Octavian's program I have considered in my forth-

Following the defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi (42 B. C.), Antony and Octavian split the Roman world between themselves with a small share to Lepidus, Antony to stamp out the last embers of opposition in the East and to raise money, Octavian to pacify Gaul and to settle the veterans of the joint armies in Italy. The resulting expropriation of land and the allotment of farms to veterans had been foreshadowed as early as the formation of the Second Triumvirate, for at the first meeting of the triumvirs "to encourage the army with expectation of booty they promised them, beside other gifts, eighteen cities of Italy as colonies."<sup>7</sup> The leaders' ambition and the followers' cupidity were driving forces in this era.

When Octavian's agents commenced to carry out this forcible settlement of the veterans in 41, the paths of Octavian and Virgil began to approach each other. One of the cities to lose its land was Cremona in the Po Valley. When the territory of this city proved inadequate, the local commissioner Alfenus Varus took also lands of the neighboring Mantua, the birthplace of Virgil.

The precise course of events at this point is far from clear.<sup>8</sup> Though the lives of Virgil embellish their story with such details as Virgil's expulsion from his estate by a centurion settler, we can give these scant credence; it is not even certain that Virgil was in the area at the time. That Virgil himself did lose his estate appears probable; that he felt the injustice to his native Mantua and to the peasant population of Italy generally is clear from the First and Ninth Eclogues.

Without going into the vexed and insoluble problem of the precise dating and relative order of the *Eclogues*, one can say that of these two poems modern opinion generally places the

coming *Civilization and the Caesars: The Intellectual Revolution in the Roman Empire*.

<sup>7</sup> Appian, *B. C.*, IV, 3 (Loeb).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Jean Bayet, "Virgile et les triumvirs 'agris dividundis'," *Rev. Ét. Lat.*, VI (1928), pp. 271-99; and the judicious discussion of the confiscation and the location of Virgil's lands by H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil* (Berkeley, 1942), pp. 45-68. While the confiscations are often assumed to have been resumed after the end of the Perusine War, Appian, *B. C.*, V, 27 and 31, shows that they were halted during its course, and Colin Hardie (*J. R. S.*, XLIII [1953], p. 221) may well be right in suggesting that they were permanently ended at that point.

Ninth first and views the First as later.<sup>9</sup> On this view it appears that Virgil (Menalcas of the Ninth Eclogue) had essayed to save Mantua by a poetic appeal to Varus, but had failed in the main. The utmost perhaps which Mantua gained by an intercession of Virgil—and still more that of the noble Cornelius Gallus—was an order from Octavian that Varus was not to take the three-mile strip encircling the city proper.<sup>10</sup> For this charity Virgil returned thanks in a poem full of puzzles, the First Eclogue, which places beside the dispossessed Meliboeus the contented Tityrus, who kept his land by an appeal to Octavian.

While Virgil wrote sad poems, others who had been dispossessed turned to arms under the incitement of Antony's wife Fulvia and his brother Lucius. Eventually Octavian pinned the opposition leaders in Etruscan Perusia and after a fierce siege took the town in late February or early March of 40. Though he spared those attached closely to Antony, everyone else was killed, and the town was burned; hostile rumor went so far as to whisper that Octavian sacrificed 600 nobles to the shades of Caesar. One need not believe this piece of brutality, but its invention throws in lurid light the contemporary view of Octavian.

### III.

So far Octavian had been ruthless, and so far he had won. Whereas an ordinary man would have continued blindly on this road to eventual doom, Octavian now had the sagacity to break with his immediate past. Dio Cassius comments that even in

<sup>9</sup> C. F. Kumaniecki, "Quo ordine Vergilii eclogae conscriptae sint," *Eos*, XXIX (1926), pp. 69-79, gives a conspectus of earlier literature on the subject; cf. also Frank, *Vergil*, pp. 112, 137, and Rose, *Eclogues*, pp. 251-2. The extraordinary analysis of the *Eclogues* in terms of numerology and the like I cannot accept. A recent example is that of Paul Maury, "Le Secret de Virgile et l'architecture des Bucoliques," *Lettres d'Humanité*, III (1944), pp. 71-147; it is further expanded apparently in Jacques Perret, *Virgile, l'homme et l'œuvre* (Paris, 1952), which I have not seen.

On the immediate problem cf. Friedrich Leo, "Vergils Erste und Neunte Eclogue," *Hermes*, XXXVIII (1903), pp. 1-18; more recently, Hans Oppermann, "Vergil und Oktavian: Zur Deutung der ersten und neunten Ekloge," *Hermes*, LXVII (1932), pp. 197-219.

<sup>10</sup> So Rose, *Eclogues*, pp. 65-8.

41 he "learned by actual experience that arms had no power to make the injured feel friendly toward him, and that, while all those who would not submit might perish by arms, yet it was out of the question for anyone to be compelled to love a person whom he does not wish to love."<sup>11</sup> Whether or not the historian is historically correct in thus assessing the conclusions drawn by Octavian after the fall of Perusia, this war does represent the last explosion of his policy of frightfulness. From about 40 B. C. he began to tack and shift to a more suitable course for a long voyage.

His shift was in part dictated by an outward change in his policy from vengeance for Caesar to reconstruction of Italy, that is, from a negative program which could inspire only fear to a positive plan which might—and did—gain true support. Apart from such considerations of policy Octavian was also impelled to change his attitude by his personally unpleasant and frightening experiences during the war against Sextus Pompey, who challenged his control of Italy by naval action from the offshore bases of Sicily and Sardinia. This war occupied much of Octavian's attention from 40 to 36 B. C. Quite early in the struggle the Roman mob, starved by Pompey's control of the Tyrrhenian Sea, informed Octavian of its displeasure by stoning him in the Forum; Octavian was snatched from death only by the intervention of Mark Antony. The mob could not be permanently put down by force, and Octavian's position deteriorated until Mark Antony patched up a truce at Misenum (39 B. C.) between Octavian and Sextus which allowed Rome once more to get food.

Even more alarming to Octavian in these years was the revelation of his essential dependence on the good pleasure of Mark Antony. It was Antony who had really won at Philippi while the sick Octavian dragged about the field; the war at Perusia had been Octavian's victory only because Antony held back his lieutenants Asinius Pollio and Plancus from supporting Lucius and Fulvia; yet once more Antony saved Octavian by revealing to him the treachery of Octavian's trusted friend and deputy in Gaul, Salvidienus Rufus. If Octavian were to remain a permanent figure on the political scene, he needed to get a firm body

<sup>11</sup> Dio Cassius, XLVIII, 8, 4 (Loeb).



of support; and it was now quite clear that such support could not be obtained by force.

General policy and his actual position alike led Octavian to adopt a steadily more moderate attitude in the early 30's. The manifestations in practice of his reformed policy need not be detailed here; in sum, that policy was built around the principles of moderation, honorable peace, and outwardly constitutional, Roman conduct. He had at last discovered a program which at once satisfied his own nature and appealed to very important elements of the Roman world; an illustration of that appeal, in my judgment, is the acceptance of Octavian first by Virgil and then by Horace.

#### IV.

To return now to Virgil himself, the poet was just 20 when Caesar began his invasion of Italy from the Po Valley which led him to domination of Rome. What course Virgil took in the wars of Caesar is quite unknown, if we discard the fanciful reconstructions of his military career based on poems in the Virgilian Appendix. In the sad days after the death of Caesar he began to write pastoral poems, eventually collected as the ten *Eclogues*; their beginning can probably be dated to 42 B. C., and their end to 39-38 B. C.<sup>12</sup> These poems display Virgil's learning, the roots of which are not always to be traced, and his skill at imitation of Alexandrian originals; yet not all is copy. The poet's native plain and hills appear; his love of nature and deep sympathy with misfortune are instinctive.

The *Eclogues* are rarely political in tone, but the citizen Virgil was not entirely unpolitical. In Rome's troubles, as they affected the world he knew, he was deeply interested, and while leading his readers into an ideal Arcadia he yet displayed an almost unconscious search for some principle of order in the universe. Whatever his view of Caesar alive may have been, he assuredly looked back to Caesar dead with favor. The Fifth Eclogue, which sings of the dead Daphnis, has often been taken as a celebration of the dead Caesar, and has as often been considered nothing of the sort; but in the Ninth Eclogue Virgil

<sup>12</sup> Asconius Pedianus (Probus: Diehl, p. 44, l. 1) states that Virgil wrote when he was 28; and Donatus (Diehl, p. 14, l. 23) gives three years for the completion of the *Eclogues*. Cf. Rose, *Eclogues*, p. 251.



speaks directly of the star of Caesar, "astrum, quo segetes gauderent frugibus et quo/duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem."<sup>13</sup> One suspects that the poet probably had had little opinion one way or the other on the constitutional position of Caesar; what mattered was that his death unleashed the "hard War-god's arms," a subject on which Virgil was as sharp as his gentle nature permitted.

The fact, however limited, that Virgil supported Caesar does not entail, as some have assumed, the conclusion that Virgil would automatically shift to support Caesar's grandnephew Octavian. Some Caesarians did so, but many others were in Antony's camp; among the latter was Asinius Pollio, who cherished Caesar "summa cum pietate et fide."<sup>14</sup> Pollio was governor of Cisalpine Gaul down to its merger with Italy in 42 and thereafter remained in the Po Valley to mid-40 with an army of seven legions.<sup>15</sup>

It is this noble who appears more than any other person in the *Eclogues*. The Third praises his poetic ability. The Fourth with its famous vision of a Golden Age celebrates him in glowing terms. A babe is to herald the new era; this child is to be born in Pollio's consulship (40 B. C.): "te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri, / irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras." To the problems of the meaning of the Fourth Eclogue I shall return below; certainly the praise of Pollio is direct and open.

Finally, the Eighth Eclogue alludes to Pollio's formal triumph over the Parthini in probably 39 B. C.<sup>16</sup> and breathes the hope that some day Virgil will be able to celebrate his deeds: "a te principium, tibi desinet. Accipe iussis/carmina coepta

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Georg.*, I, 466. On the Fifth Eclogue, Rose, *Eclogues*, pp. 117-38, gives a useful analysis of current views.

<sup>14</sup> Cic., *Ad Fam.*, X, 31.

<sup>15</sup> J. André, *La Vie et l'oeuvre d'Asinius Pollio* (Paris, 1949), and Elizabeth Denny Pierce, *A Roman Man of Letters: Gaius Asinius Pollio* (Diss. Columbia, 1922), accept the usual picture of Pollio; Faith Baldwin Rich, *The Activities of C. Asinius Pollio 42-38 B. C. and their Connection with the Eighth and Fourth Eclogues of Vergil* (Diss. Bryn Mawr, 1944), is more critical.

<sup>16</sup> *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII, 1, ed. Attilio Degraffi (Rome, 1947), p. 87; that Pollio was then governor of Macedonia is proved by Ronald Syme, "Pollio, Saloninus and Salonae," *C. Q.*, XXXI (1937), pp. 39-48.

tuis." On this last phrase, as on Virgil's relations to Pollio generally, debate has been intense. Servius perhaps goes too far in constructing a neat scheme of sponsorship for Virgil's three major works, the *Eclogues* under Pollio, the *Georgics* under Maecenas, the *Aeneid* under Augustus;<sup>17</sup> on the other hand a recent judicious estimate of the *Eclogues* seems to turn the relationship into much too formal a connection.<sup>18</sup> Pollio certainly was acquainted with Virgil; he encouraged the youth; and on the face of it Virgil felt more closely attached to him than to any other great noble.

Any dispassionate reader of the *Eclogues* must assuredly recognize that Pollio bulks far larger therein than Octavian; the latter appears only in the very first poem, probably one of the last to be composed. Even in the First Eclogue, Virgil speaks as much if not more in the person of the dispossessed Meliboeus as of the smug Tityrus.<sup>19</sup> His curses on the confiscations are not so blunt as those of the anonymous *Dirae*, but not even admiration for Octavian could keep him from writing.

impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,  
barbarus has segetes: en quo discordia cives  
produxit miseros! his nos consevimus agros!

## V.

Yet the First Eclogue, which depicts Octavian as a patron of agricultural order, attests that Virgil had begun to shift toward an appreciation and acceptance of Octavian. To date the point of this shift is not easy, nor need we necessarily assume that it took place at any one specific moment. The general period, however, seems ascertainable, and the reasons for the *rapprochement* are not far to seek.

The life by Probus states that Maecenas introduced Virgil to Octavian after the completion of the *Eclogues* (ca. 39-38 B. C.).<sup>20</sup> Though one hesitates to build any important con-

<sup>17</sup> Diehl, p. 41, ll. 17 ff. (Harvard ed. II, p. 2); cf. Harold Bennett, "Virgil and Pollio," *A. J. P.*, LI (1930), pp. 325-42.

<sup>18</sup> Rose, *Eclogues*, pp. 82-6.

<sup>19</sup> So justly Rose, *Eclogues*, p. 92.

<sup>20</sup> Diehl, p. 43, l. 17.

struction upon an unsupported assertion in the poet's lives, this statement may well be true; the further implication that Virgil met Maecenas first seems quite probable. If Virgil remained in northern Italy until he lost his estate, he could scarcely have met Maecenas until after mid-41, but wherever Virgil resided the complete absence of Maecenas from the *Eclogues* suggests that the date of close relations must be brought down to late 40 or even to 39.<sup>21</sup> The tone of the Fourth Eclogue, probably written in late 41 or early 40, seems to agree with this dating.<sup>22</sup>

When one turns from Virgil to Octavian, the significance of the year 40 and those immediately thereafter becomes obvious. In this very era Octavian himself was shifting toward that policy which has already been sketched. The First Eclogue, in which Octavian is represented as advising the rustic Tityrus "pascite ut ante boves, pueri: summittite tauros," shows how eagerly one deep lover of things Italian was willing to accept this new policy. The hope of the Fourth Eclogue, there expressed in more general terms, was now fastening itself upon the person of Octavian.

In sum, it is difficult, if not impossible, to visualize Virgil as accepting Octavian so long as the latter pursued the ruthless course which led to Philippi, to Perusia, to the eviction of hapless Italian peasants. Once Octavian had shifted his course, however, the native optimism of Virgil, his belief in a divine Providence watching over Rome, his sense of duty which repeatedly recalled the shepherds of the *Eclogues* to their tasks—all these deep strata of the poet's spirit could be satisfied in the ever more clearly conceived pattern of the future Augustus.

Withal, the poet kept that independence of spirit which is unmistakable even in the First Eclogue; to state briefly an opinion I have argued more fully elsewhere, the common interpretation that Virgil was bound to Maecenas or to Octavian

<sup>21</sup> So Armand Fournies, *Mécène* (Brussels, 1947), p. 45, though on quite different grounds; Rose, *Eclogues*, p. 78, "scarcely . . . earlier than the thirties of the century." The story given by Donatus (Diehl, p. 14, ll. 6-9) that Maecenas helped Virgil when he was expelled from his land by the centurion carries little conviction.

<sup>22</sup> The dating of Rose, *Eclogues*, pp. 179-80 (after Norden), seems convincing; others, however, would bring the Fourth Eclogue down even after the end of 40 (e.g., Tarn, *J. R. S.*, XXII [1932], pp. 151-2). See also below.

by the return of his land or by gifts of money puts matters in entirely the wrong light. Virgil and Octavian were linked not on the crass plane of material things but on a higher plane of spiritual sympathy, which could hardly have been reached until 40 and later.<sup>23</sup> Though the future relations of the emperor and the poet are not to be described simply, their analysis purely in terms of "propaganda" begins in entirely the wrong quarter.

## VI.

If it is true that Virgil *came* to accept Octavian rather than always being attached to him, one may draw several significant conclusions as regards both Virgil and Octavian.

This view, it would seem, sets the *Eclogues* in a clearer light insofar as their author displays political views. It also aids in discrediting the ancient fables on the early relations of Virgil and Octavian. Such stories as that of their joint study under Epidius were invented merely to explain an acquaintance which did not really exist so early; the same process produced the *Culex*, "the most glaring of all Vergilian frauds."<sup>24</sup>

Most important of all as regards Virgil's early work, the present interpretation of his early career makes it possible, perhaps even imperative, to view the famous Fourth Eclogue in a new atmosphere. The difficulties in explaining this poem can be measured by the amount of heated speculation which it has aroused; in recent decades, however, many quarters have come to assert almost dogmatically that it must be linked to Octavian.<sup>25</sup> Virgil, it is clear, had seen some prophecy of a Golden

<sup>23</sup> Cf. my forthcoming *Civilization and the Caesars*. I do not wish to imply that Maecenas may not have taken the initiative in inviting Virgil to join his circle; it may even be true, as Rose, *Eclogues*, p. 93, conjectures, that Maecenas had from Octavian hints "that here was one to be attached to the Caesarian cause at all reasonable costs, for he was much too good to suppress and too honest to keep his own feelings altogether hidden, whereas his support might be invaluable alike among those who loved poetry and those who could appreciate honesty."

<sup>24</sup> Rose, *Eclogues*, p. 75; see on the motivation of its creation Eduard Fraenkel, "The *Culex*," *J. R. S.*, XLII (1952), pp. 1-9.

<sup>25</sup> Rose, *Eclogues*, pp. 162-213, and literature there cited, will serve to suggest the lines of argument advanced on the Fourth Eclogue. The explanations which link it to an expected child of Octavia or to the

Age involving a child; since Octavian was politically dominant in Italy and was accepted by Virgil, the babe who is to bring this peace—it is argued—must have been one expected or hoped from his line.

If this widely held view is correct, it would appear to be incompatible with the preceding reconstruction of Virgil's attitude toward Octavian down to 40 B. C. The incompatibility, however, is only superficial, for the scholars who attach the expected babe directly to Octavian must bring the date of the composition of the Fourth Eclogue down to late 40 or even to 39. Octavian did not marry Scribonia, his first real wife, until mid-40—and unlike his next spouse Livia, Scribonia was not *enceinte* at the time of her marriage. In this case the Fourth Eclogue would fall in the era when Virgil was coming to accept Octavian.

Though the line of argument is reasonable, I am not inclined to advance it seriously, for the whole effort to find a close relationship between Virgil and Octavian in the Fourth Eclogue appears faulty on two counts. In the first place, the effort rests at root upon the *later* connection of the two: since Virgil in subsequent years accepted Augustus as the bringer of peace, he must already have been thinking of Octavian in this expression of hope. Yet it is, after all, undeniable that not one line of this Eclogue can be construed to refer to Octavian whereas Pollio is openly praised; and a point too often forgotten is Virgil's direct assertion that future wars would be necessary before lasting peace would come in the manhood of the babe.

Must we, secondly, interpret every expression of a still struggling poet as directly enmeshed with the political currents which led from Republic to Empire? Whether a real father must be sought for the child to be born I much doubt despite all the learned arguments to that end; the glowing verse of Virgil need not be taken as more than the transmutation of a prophecy in terms of his ever-present hope that Italy would yet see peace. A sober analysis of the early relations between Virgil and Octa-

marriage of Octavia and Mark Antony do not directly affect the present discussion. The ancient tradition of Saloninus, son of Pollio, has been proved a myth by Syme, *C. Q.*, XXXI (1937), pp. 39-48 (cf. James H. Oliver, "The Descendants of Asinius Pollio," *A. J. P.*, LXVIII [1947], pp. 147-60).

vian suggests that the assumption of a close connection between the two which underlies the current interpretation of the Fourth Eclogue may be false, and that those who would continue to hold this interpretation might be asked to justify more carefully their basic assumption. Poets, if any men, may be permitted to have dreams.

Certainly the acceptance of Octavian by Virgil may serve as a valuable indication of the success which Octavian's change of course began to bring in winning the adhesion of Italy generally; upon this support depended first the victory against Sextus Pompey, gained in 36, and then the calculations which led Octavian to break with Mark Antony. The boldness with which Octavian and Agrippa pressed on to the complete destruction of Antony and Cleopatra throws in high relief their certainty that Italy was behind them. Once won, Virgil was true to Octavian-Augustus for the rest of his serene life. The same cannot be said of Horace, whom Augustus won and then lost, but that is another story.

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SILVA CONIECTURARUM.

I.

Horace, *Epist.*, I, 1, 53-8.

- “o ciues, ciues, quaerenda pecunia primum est,  
uirtus post nummos.” haec Ianus summus ab imo  
55 prodocet, haec recinunt iuuenes dictata senesque  
56 laeuo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.  
57 est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua fidesque,  
58 sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt.  
56 *del. Guyet*  
57 *post 58 libri praeter C et dett. quosdam*

In *Serm.*, I, 6, 71-5 Horace tells how his father<sup>1</sup> declined to send him to the local school of Flavius, where the centurions' sons used to go *laeuo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto* (74). The same verse repeated in the context of this epistle seems ludicrous; schoolboys do not recite their lessons with knapsacks and slates hanging from their arms. Guyet deleted 56 as an interpolation, and his judgment has been confirmed by such critics as Sanadon, Lachmann,<sup>1</sup> Meineke, Haupt, and L. Müller. Yet modern editors of Horace consider 56 genuine. Kiessling offers the typical defense: “Der Vers ist aus sat. I 6, 74 wiederholt, um die schulbubenhafte Hingebung der *iuuenesque senesque* an die Weisheit der Börse in drastischem Bilde zu malen.” This is substantially Gesner's explanation, of which Schrader long ago made the too sanguine judgment: “Sed talis argumentatio Criticis non satisfaciet.”<sup>2</sup>

All the MSS, except C (*Monacensis* 14685) and a very few unimportant MSS, invert the order of 57 and 58. Assume for the moment that 56 is an interpolation and the reason for this inversion becomes clear.

- 55 prodocet, haec recinunt iuuenes dictata senesque.  
57 est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua fidesque,  
58 sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt.

As the scribe finished writing 55, his eye dropped from

<sup>1</sup> Karl Lachmann's *Briefe an Moriz Haupt*, ed. J. Vahlen (Berlin, 1892), p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Emendationum* (Leovardiae, 1776), p. 206.

(*sen*)*esque* to (*fid*)*esque*, so that he omitted 57 and wrote 58 next; then, noticing his error, he added 57 after 58 with a sign of correction in the margin. The sign of correction either disappeared or escaped notice and the error was propagated in all the principal MSS but C, which apparently derives from a separate ancient source.<sup>3</sup> At some later time 56 was interpolated from *Serm.*, I, 6, 74 and, such being the involvement of the textual tradition, spread by contagion to all the MSS. Since the kind of error which I have described does not seem to be generally recognized, I add a selection of examples.

Plaut., *Epid.*, 634-6.

- 634 Ep. *satin ego oculis utilitatem optineo sincere an parum?*  
 635 *uideon ego Telestidem te, Periphanei filiam,*  
 636 *ex Philippa matre natam Thebis, Epidauri satam?*  
 635 *post 636 P*

Lucr., I, 13-5.

- 13 *significant initum percussae corda tua ui.*  
 14 *inde ferae pecudes persultant pabula laeta*  
 15 *et rapidos tranant amnis: ita capta lepore*  
 14 *post 15 OQG*

Lucr., IV, 249-51.

- 249 *et quasi perterget pupillas atque ita transit.*  
 250 *propterea fit uti uideamus quam procul absit*  
 251 *res quaeque. et quanto plus aeris ante agitur*  
 250 *post 251 libri, corr. Marullus*

Manil., IV, 472-4.

- 472 *et quae ter decumam claudit sors ultima partem.*  
 473 *et quinta in Chelis et septima inutilis aestu,*  
 474 *tertia et undecimae decumaeque est septima iuncta*  
 473 *post 474 libri, corr. Regiomontanus*

Pers., I, 45-7.

- 45 *non ego cum scribo, si forte quid aptius exit,*  
 46 *quando haec rara auis est, si quid tamen aptius exit,*  
 47 *laudari metuum; neque enim mihi cornea fibra est.*  
 46 *post 47 a L*

Other examples of this error may be found at Plaut., *Epid.*, 638-40; Lucr., I, 433-5; Verg., *Georg.*, IV, 291-3; *Aen.*, V, 776-8;

<sup>3</sup> See the stemma in F. Klingner's edition (Leipzig, 1950), p. x.

Ovid, *Met.*, VIII, 526-8; Manil., IV, 893-5; Luc., VI, 388-90; Nemes., *Buc.*, III, 51-3.

To anticipate further objection, I should point out that the inversion of 57 and 58 becomes explicable only on the supposition that 56 was interpolated afterwards. Had 56 stood in the text at the time of the error, the resultant order of the verses would be 55 58 56 57. Cf. Arist., *Lys.*, 45-8:

- 45 καὶ Κιμμερίκ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδας;  
 46 Λυ. ταῦτ' ἀντὰ γάρ τοι κᾶσθ' ἃ σώσειν προσδοκῶ,  
 47 τὰ κροκωτίδια καὶ τὰ μύρα χαὶ περιβαρίδες  
 48 χῆγγχονσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῇ χιτώνια.  
 45 48 46 47 *cod. Ravennas*

## II.

A Greek or Latin author sometimes reiterates a compound verb, either immediately or at a brief interval, in its simple form with the same meaning. In Greek this characteristic has been noticed by Elmsley on Eur., *Med.*, 1219 (= 1252), by Stallbaum on Plato, *Phaed.*, 59 B, by E. R. Dodds on Eur., *Bacch.*, 1065 and by others;<sup>4</sup> in Latin only, so far as I know, by Housman on Manil., I, 271, III, 122 and 328, from whom I take the following examples: Ovid, *Met.*, V, 161: *aduersaque in agmina uersus*; XIII, 345: *eripere aede deam raptamque adferre per hostes*; *Fast.*, III, 25: *languida consurgit nec scit cur languida surgat*; Manil., I, 535: *domus his contenta tenetur*; II, 45: *fata refert uitamque sua radice ferentis*; III, 63: *euincunt stellas nec non uincuntur et ipsa*; III, 308: *super transuerum uertitur axem*; III, 328: *ergo ubi conscendes orbem scandensque rotundum*; V, 68: *extollit, primum iuga tollit*; Luc., VIII, 462: *transuerso uertitur aestu*. Since this stylistic feature does not seem to be well recognized in Latin, I give these additional examples: Lucr., III, 261: *sed tamen, ut potero summam attingere, tangam*; Cat., 89, 5: *qui ut nihil attingat, nisi quod fas tangere non est*; Ovid, *Her.*, XII, 117: *nec tamen extimui (quid enim post illa timerem?)*; Am., II, 4, 3: *confiteor, siquid prodest delicta fateri*; Ars, II, 91: *decidit atque cadens*; *Trist.*, V, 4, 41-2: *qua consolatus amicum/ sis ope,*

<sup>4</sup> See Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griech. Sprache*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 568.

solandus *cum semel ipse fores*; Sen., *Phoen.*, 378-9: *causa repetentis bona est, / mala sic petentis*; Oed., 931-2: *uel feras in me tuas / emitte siluis, mitte uel rabidos canes*; Herc. Oet. 1648-9: "*accipe haec*," inquit, "*sate / Poeante dona, hoc munus Alcidae cape*"; Mart., V, 5, 3-4: *domini cognoscere curas / et secreta ducis pectora nosse licet*; Priap., 8, 1-2: *requirens / quaere*.<sup>5</sup>

On occasion the prefix of a compound verb is understood with a subsequent simple verb, even though the simple verb be derived from an entirely different root.<sup>6</sup> Thus Ovid (*Ex Pont.*, IV, 7, 7-8) writes: *ipse uidet certe glacie concreescere Pontum, / ipse uidet gelido stantia uina gelu*, and *stantia* seems to have the force of *constantia* because of *concreescere* in the preceding verse; cf. Hor., *Carm.*, I, 9, 3-4: *geluque / flumina constiterint acuto*; Ovid, *Trist.*, V, 10, 1: *ter frigore constitit Hister*. And on Verg., *Aen.*, I, 698: *aurea conposuit sponda mediamque locauit* Servius has the brief note: *LOCAVIT collocauit*. Now consider Ovid, *Her.*, VI, 91-2:

deuouet absentis simulacraque cerea figit  
et miserum tenuis in iecur egit acus.  
91 figit P, fingit GE dett.

Heinsius instinctively preferred *figit*, which he supposed to mean *defigit*, but Palmer<sup>7</sup> abandons the *codex Puteaneus* and reads *fingit* for the reason that *figo* nowhere else occurs in the sense of *defigo*. This is to con the lexicists rather than the poet. *figit* is the preferable variant, as being less obvious, and the prefix may be understood from *deuouet* at the beginning of the verse. This interpretation is supported by the examples cited from Ovid and Vergil, and by a similar distich in Ovid, *Am.*, III, 7, 29-30:

<sup>5</sup> Lucr., I, 940-1 (= IV, 15-6): *interea perpotet amarum / apsinthi laticem deceptaque non capiat* may also be an example. Munro remarks that Fairfax's translation reproduces the point: "They drinke deceivd and so deceivd they live."

<sup>6</sup> This phenomenon appears in Greek, too: Aesch., *Prom.*, 331: πάντων μετασχών καὶ τετολημκώς ἐμοί, where μετασχών suggests συντετολημκώς; Jebb, on Soph., *Antig.*, 537, actually wished to read: πάντων μετασχών συντετολημκώς τ' ἐμοί. Similar also are Soph., *Antig.*, 537: καὶ ξυμμετίσχω καὶ φέρω τῆς αἰτίας and Soph., *O. R.*, 347: καὶ ξυμφυτεύσαι τοῦργον εἰργασθαι θ' . . .

<sup>7</sup> Oxford, 1898.

*sagaue poenicea defixit nomina cera / et medium tenuis in iecur egit acus?*

Sometimes a compound verb is repeated in its simple form at an interval of several lines: Lucr., I, 392: *tum putat id fieri quia se condenseat aer*, 395: *nec tali ratione potest denserier* (O<sup>1</sup>, *condenserier* OQG) *aer*; Cat., 10, 15-16: *comparasti / ad lecticam hominis*, 20: *non possem octo homines parare rectos*; 62, 1: *uesper adest, iuuenes, consurgite*, 3: *surgere iam tempus*; 76, 14: *difficile est, uerum hoc qua lubet efficias*, 16: *hoc facias, siue id non pote siue pote*; Verg., *Aen.*, II, 637: *abnegat excisa uitam* *producere Troia*, 641: *me si caelicolae uoluissent ducere uitam*; Hor., *Epist.*, I, 6, 1: *nil admirari prope res est una*, 9-10: *fere miratur eodem / quo cupiens pacto*, 18: *cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores*; Sen., *Herc. fur.*, 577-8: *deflent Eurydicen Threiciae nurus*, / *deflent et lacrimis difficiles dei*, 581: *flentes Eurydicen iuridici sedent*. I turn now to an example which, because unrecognized, has caused editors and commentators more trouble than it should—Catullus, 83:

Lesbia mi praesente uiro mala plurima dicit:  
haec illi fatuo maxima laetitia est.

mule, nihil sentis. si nostri oblita taceret,  
sana esset; nunc quod gannit et obloquitur,

5 non solum meminit, sed, quae multo acrior est res,  
irata est: hoc est, uritur et loquitur.

6 loquitur libri, coquitur Dousa Lipsius Heinsius,  
queritur A. Palmer

*coquitur* appears in the texts of Baehrens, Schwabe, L. Müller, Friedrich, and Kroll, and has acquired such status that it is cited in *T. L. L.*, IV, col. 928 without any variant. *coquitur*, even if it were possible Latin, would be grotesque sense. A consideration of the examples adduced above and a summary reading of the poem will show, I think, that *loquitur* should be retained and that it means much the same as *obloquitur* in 4. The theme of the poem is, in the words of Prop., III, 8, 11-12, *quae mulier rabida iactat conuicia lingua*, / *haec Veneris magnae uoluitur ante pedes*. Lesbia rages and rails—*gannit et obloquitur*; and the significance of this behavior (*hoc est* makes it quite explicit) is that she feels passion and so rails—*uritur et loquitur*. The fact that *obloquitur* and *loquitur* occupy the same metrical position in the pentameter also suggests the semantic correspondence.

## III.

In *A. J. P.*, LXX (1949), p. 311, to support an emendation of *Culex*, 364, I collected examples of corruptions in MSS caused by the loss of *in* in a preceding *um* (*am em*). Add now the following places where *in* is omitted by one or several important MSS: Verg., *Aen.*, IV, 54: *animum* <in>*flammauit*; VII, 351: *uipeream* <in>*spirans*; Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 260: *nympharum* <in>*patiens*; XIV, 114: *ramum* <in>; Manil., IV, 69: *ualidorum* <in>; Sen., *Herc. Oet.*, 918: *cum* <in>*fixo*; Sil. Ital., IV, 719: *Lydorum* <in>; Juv., XV, 78: *illum* <in>; Livy, XLI, 23, 12: *omnium* <in>; XLII, 19, 3: *cum* <in>; XLIII, 18, 1: *cum* <in>*exsuperabilis*; XLV, 6, 2: *sublatum* <in>; XLV, 6, 10: *quorum* <in>; XLV, 9, 7: *distractum* <in>.<sup>8</sup> The lesson of this collection, which could be increased by a little diligence, may be applied to the text of three poets. In the first two, it is simply a matter of approving emendations already made, in the third, of proposing a new emendation.

Juvenal, XI, 106-7.

ac nudam effigiem clipeo fulgentis et hasta  
pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti.

This is the text as established by the most recent editor, U. Knoche;<sup>9</sup> but the principal MSS and the ancient scholia have *uenientis* instead of *fulgentis*. *uenientis* should be combined with Hadr. Valesius' conjecture <in> *clipeo* to read *ac nudam effigiem in clipeo uenientis et hasta*. The idiom involved is common in poetry;<sup>10</sup> cf. Val. Flacc., I, 641-2; *cum subitus*

<sup>8</sup> Some good emendations which assume this error are: Plaut., *Pseud.*, 102 *cribrum* <in>*geras* Salmasius; Prop., III, 6, 11 *speculum* <in> *strato* Heinsius; Tac., *Agric.*, 46, 4 *temporum* <in> *fama* Halm; Suet., *Nero*, 11, 2 *Incendium* <in>*scribitur* Erasmus.

<sup>9</sup> München, 1950.

<sup>10</sup> Failure to recognize this idiom and the scribal error involved has caused Butler and Barber (Oxford, 1933) to print an interpolated text of Prop., IV, 2, 27-8:

arma tuli quondam et, memini, laudabar in illis:  
corbis et inposito pondere messor eram.

28 et *dett.*, in N, *om.* FLP, ab DV

The reading of N is certainly right; *in* disappeared by haplography, and *et* and *ab* were inserted for the sake of the meter. Such an omission of *in* is frequent: Cic., *Pro Rosc.*, 28, 78 <in> *insidiis*; Ovid, *Her.*, XIII,



*trifida Neptunus in hasta / caeruleum fundo caput extulit;*  
VIII, 133: *rapta uictor consistit in hasta.*

Lucretius, II, 500-1.

iam tibi barbaricae uestes Meliboeaque fulgens  
purpura Thessalico concharum tacta colore.

Bailey<sup>11</sup> and other modern editors, with the exception of Ernout, accept Oudendorp's *tacta* for *tecta*, the reading of the MSS. Winckelmann's *infecta* should be preferred for several reasons: *in* often disappears in a preceding *um*; F and T are easily confused in capital script; and Lucretius, as Ernout has noticed, uses only *contingere*, nowhere *tangere*, in the sense demanded here.

Ovid, *Am.*, I, 13, 19-20.

In this elegy Ovid treats one of the commonplaces of erotic poetry: the coming of dawn that separates lovers too soon. Dawn, writes Ovid, is *ingrata*, and not only to lovers. The weary traveler rouses himself at dawn; the soldier straps on his gear; peasants begin work; oxen resume the yoke; and school-boys set out for classes. Then he adds, 19-20:

atque eadem sponsum †cultos† ante Atria mittis,  
unius ut uerbi grandia damna ferant.  
20 cultos P, consulti S *dett.*, multos *Withof quod plerumque*  
*recipitur*, incautos *Madvig*, stultos *Ehwald*, ciues *A.*  
*Palmer*, (sponso) uinctos *Lachmann*

The reading of P must be nearer the truth than that of S and the inferior MSS; for *consulti* is doubtless an emendation suggested by *consulto* in 21. Read *sponsum incultos*. The business man leaps out of bed at dawn, throws on his clothes and hurries off to the *Puteal Libonis* and his financial deals. He has no time to make a toilet. He is *incultus*, just as the foppish gallant who strolls about the porticos of an afternoon is *cultus*; cf. Prop., IV, 8, 75-6: *tu neque Pompeia spatiabere cultus in umbra, / nec cum lascium sternet harena Forum.*

137 Troas<in> inuideo; Ars, III, 299 <in> incessu; Livy, XXV, 16, 15  
<in> inpluuio.

<sup>11</sup> Oxford, 1947.

## IV.

*Culex*, 216-22.

- praeda Charonis agor. uiden ut flagrantia taedis  
 limina collucent infestis omnia templis?  
 obuia Tisiphone, serpentibus undique compta,  
 et flammis et saeva quatit mihi uerbera; pone  
 220 Cerberus (ut diris flagrant latratibus ora!),  
 anguibus hinc atque hinc horrent cui colla reflexis  
 sanguineisque micant ardorem luminis orbes.  
 216 uiden ut Bembo, uides ut V, uidi ut SFCLV<sup>2</sup>, uidi et I  
 217 infestis libri, infernis Dom. Calderinus  
 219 pone Haupt, p(o)en(a)e libri, pone est iam Peerlkamp  
 220 ut scripsi, et libri, en Ribbeck

To see how variously these verses have been emended and distorted the reader should consult the editions of Leo, Curcio, Ellis, Vollmer, and Plésent. I have adopted two slight emendations in 216 and 219, and made the easy change of *et* to *ut* in 220.

The Gnat describes his diminutive experience of the underworld vividly in the present tense. In 216 Bembo altered *uidi ut* to *uiden ut*, a necessary emendation afterwards confirmed by the discovery of V. Curcio, Ellis, and Plésent accept *uidi ut* and the solecism which it entails; Vollmer prefers *uidi et*. In either reading the elision is alien to the *Culex*: in all 414 verses there are but two diphthongs elided (288, 400), and no secure example of a long vowel elided. The one possibility occurs at 393: *gramineam <ut> uiridi foderet de caespite terram*. Bembo supplied *ut*; VT and VI are so alike that *ut* dropped out by haplography; cf. Lucr., II, 166 *ut uideant L, ut deant OQG*. But as chance would have it, a later hand in V added *ut* after *uiridi*, and Curcio and Ellis prefer a poor guess of the thirteenth century to a certain correction of the sixteenth. In 217 most editors accept Calderinus' otiose *infernis*. The Gnat calls the *templa* of the underworld *infesta* because they so appear to him; like the threatening, hostile figures of Tisiphone and Cerberus, they inspire terror and dismay. My emendation in 220 assumes a slight and frequent error; for example, *et* and *ut* are confused in 206 and 216. *ut . . . flagrant* is supported also by *ut flagrantia* in 216; for the writer of the *Culex* often repeats a similar phrase within a few lines.

V.

*Culex*, 265-7.

ecce Ithaci coniunx semper decus Icarioris  
femineum concepta decus, manet et procul illa  
turba ferox iuuenum telis confixa procorum.

The author of the *Culex*, who was capable of writing very badly, was still not capable of writing what his MSS and editors impute to him here: the repetition of *decus* destroys both sense and form. 266 must originally have read:

femineum concepta manet, manet et procul illa.

Bentley, on Horace, *Epist.*, II, 2, 199, describes this sort of error: "... ubique fere, cum geminandum erat uocabulum, alterum omittebant Librarii; unde postea pro lectorum captu hiatus explebatur."<sup>12</sup> Once 266 had been reduced to *femineum concepta manet et procul illa*, an ancient critic, noticing the adjective *femineum* and the failure of the meter in *manet et*, borrowed from the preceding verse the noun *decus* to place after *concepta*.<sup>13</sup> A very similar error occurred at Martial, X, 14, 7-8:

quando breuis gelidae missa est toga tempore brumae?  
argenti uenit quando selibra mihi?

So families A and B, but family C reads *argenti quando missa*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Plaut., *Cas.*, 556 *esset esset A, esset P*; *Cas.*, 600 *uxorem uxorem A, uxorem P*; *Poen.*, 921 *iterum iterem A, iterum P*; *Lucr.*, II, 1147 *cibus cibus Voss, cibus MSS*; *Ovid, Her.*, VII, 103 *uenio uenio GE, uenio P*; *Am.*, II, 4, 39 *capiet capiet S, capiet P*; *Rem.*, 207 *studium studium E, studium R*; *Sen., Tro.*, 627 *ite ite A, ite E*. Once haplography occurred, a verse became liable to interpolation. *Ovid, Her.*, VI, 131: *hanc hanc, o demens Colchisque ablate uenenis: hanc hanc* is Palmer's conjecture, P reads *hanc*, the other MSS *hanc tamen* or *hanc o tu*. *Rem.*, 375: *grande sonant tragici; tragicos decet ira cothurnos*: R reads *tragiaci tumidos*; *tragicos* dropped out after *tragici* and *tumidos* was probably suggested by *ira*. *Persius*, I, 111: *nil moror; euge omnes, omnes bene mirae eritis res*: *Leidensis* 78, *Monacensis* 14498 and perhaps 330 preserve *omnes omnes*; PAB and the scholia have *omnes*, the inferior MSS *omnes etenim*. For additional examples see Housman's *Manilius*, I, pp. lix-lxvi.

<sup>13</sup> Housman made a similar analysis of the error in *C. R.*, XVI (1902), pp. 340-1. He conjectured *femineum concepta manet, pauet et procul illam* (SCL, *illa V*), and suggested also as possibilities *timet*, *cauet*, *fugit*, and *uidet*.

*selibra mihi est.* That is, *uenit* dropped out after *argenti* and *missa* was interpolated from the preceding verse. Similar also is the corruption at Ovid, *Trist.*, V, 5, 45-6:

nata pudicitia est, nata est probitasque fidesque,  
at non sunt ista gaudia nata die.

*nata est* is Ehwald's discerning conjecture; the better MSS read *moris*, which was derived from the preceding hexameter (43: *edidit haec mores*) to fill the gap when *nata est* dropped out after *pudicitia est*.

*Culex*, 266, as emended, assumes balance and form; cf. Prop., II, 12, 13: *in me tela manent, manet et puerilis imago*; Ovid, *Her.*, XVI, 291: *Iuppiter his gaudet, gaudet Venus aurea furtis*; Am., II, 4, 39: *candida me capiet, capiet me flaua puella. concepta*, which Ribbeck explained "nimirum a matre ut decus feminarum futurum," seems odd. Birt conjectured *conspecta*, and this has been accepted by Leo and Plésent, but *concepta* may well be right. In a poem like the *Culex* it is sometimes hard to tell where the ineptitude of the poet ceases and the hebetude of the scribe begins.

## VI.

Seneca, *Herc. Oet.*, 1320-3.

quid quaeris ultra? supplicem Alciden uides,  
at nulla tellus, nulla me uidit fera  
te deprecantem. nunc mihi irata †pater†  
opus est nouerca. nunc tuus cessat dolor?

1322 pater E, quidem A, haud parum N. Heinsius, acriter Richter, insuper Koetschau, ac fera Leo, (irato) patre Rossbach, inuicem Brakman, patet Hermann

Hercules, in his agony on Oeta, begs his stepmother Juno to kill him and so put an end to his misery. The lection *pater* is absurd, and *quidem* a manifest interpolation. Of the several conjectures only *patet* seems at all attractive, but Seneca does not use *patet* in this absolute sense. I should emend and punctuate thus:

nunc mihi irata (pudet)  
opus est nouerca.

After *pudet* had been corrupted in some way, it was probably

inuictus olim uultus et numquam malis  
lacrimas suis praeberere consuetus (pudet)  
iam flere didicit.

Juvenal, II, 132-3.

<sup>18</sup> *Hermathena*, XLIV, pp. 101-18.

falsified in most of the other MSS.<sup>17</sup> I suggest that what has happened elsewhere has happened also at IV, 375, and that Ovid wrote *ualle Quirini*. The perfectly intelligible *colle Quirini* would never have been altered to *ualle Quirini*, but the incipient corruption in PS at Juvenal, II, 133 shows how *ualle* would be glossed with *colle* and so extruded from the text.

*Fast.*, IV, 375 indicates then that the *uallis Quirini*, perhaps a depression or declivity of some sort, was situated on the Quirinal in the locality of the *Aedes Fortunae Publicae*.

## VIII.

Juvenal, V, 103-6.

uos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae,  
aut †glacie† aspersus maculis Tiberinus et ipse  
uernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca  
et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae.

104 glacie *libri*, glanis Garrod Rose L. Palmer, placet Froehner, manet Vianello Owen, flauis Castiglioni

Any comment on 104 should begin with Housman's ironic note: "glacie nemini, quantum scio, praeterquam mihi et Schradero et Hadriano Valesio admirationem mouit: ceteris exploratum est frigore pisces maculosos fieri, eos praesertim qui torrentem cloacam, locum frigidissimum, penetrare soleant." Content with having detected the macula in the verse, Housman did nothing to remove it. *glanis* has been proposed on three separate occasions,<sup>18</sup> but it is impossible for reasons ichthyological: D. W. Thompson remarks, rather amusingly, that it "has no leg to stand on."<sup>19</sup> The fish can be no other than the *lupus* or sea bass, called by Lucilius (fr. 1176 Marx) *Tiberinus catillo* and by Macrobius, III, 16, 11 *Tiberinus lupus*. The conjectures *placet*, *manet*, and *flauis* have neither deserved nor won any acceptance; and A. Y. Campbell's<sup>20</sup> characteristic attempt to rewrite Juvenal need not be considered. D. W. Thompson,<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See F. Peeters, *Les "Fastes" d'Ovide* (Bruxelles, 1939), pp. 359-85.

<sup>18</sup> Garrod, *C. R.*, XXV (1911), pp. 240-1; Rose, *H. S. C. P.*, XLVII (1936), p. 12; Palmer, *C. R.*, LII (1938), pp. 56-7.

<sup>19</sup> *C. R.*, LII (1938), p. 119. Equally impossible are *glaucus* and *gladius*, suggested to Rose by "two friendly critics." My information about the *lupus* is taken from D. W. Thompson's *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 140-2.

<sup>20</sup> *C. Q.*, XXXIX (1945), pp. 46-8.

<sup>21</sup> *C. R.*, LII (1938), p. 119.



asserting that only the eel enters the modern Roman sewers, deleted 104 and emended 105 to read *et mediae solita cryptam penetrare Suburae*. This solution appealed to U. Knoche,<sup>22</sup> who saves the meter, but hardly the syntax, by reading *solitus*. By such drastic means has Juvenal's *lupus* been expelled from the text and from the ancient sewers.

That *maculis* should have a modifier is suggested by such passages as Livy, XLI, 21, 13: *anguem . . . aureis* (ed. Basil. 1535, *avis* V) *maculis sparsum*; Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 578: *caeruleis uariari corpora guttis*; Ovid(?), *Hal.*, 113-4: *et ardens / auratis muraena notis*. I should therefore emend 104 to read:

aut glaucis sparsus maculis Tiberinus et ipse.

The *lupus* was maculated: Columella, VIII, 17, 8: *tum etiam sine macula (nam sunt et uarii) includemus*; Xenocrates, *De alim. ex fluu.*, VI: <sup>23</sup> ἐν Τιβέρι λάβραξ (= *lupus*), ὅς ἐστιν ἐστιγμένος. And the maculation might properly be described as glaucous; Xenocrates, *ibid.*, IX compares the labrax with a fish called the *glaucus* and says: γλαῦκος μετὰ λάβρακος (ἔοικε γὰρ πάντα αὐτῷ) . . . It is not hard to see how the adjective *Tiberinus* became a nickname for a fish so familiar as the *Tiberinus lupus*; and Galen, *De alim. fac.*, III, 30,<sup>24</sup> is explicit: ὥσπερ γε καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτὸν ἰχθύες γεννώμενοι· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἔνιοι Τιβερίνους . . .

The corruption which *glaucis* presupposes is slight; for example, at Vergil, *Aen.*, VI, 416 the first hand of F wrote *glaca* for *glauca*. The corruption, or the ancient emendation of the corruption, may have been influenced, as Garrod noticed, by a passage in the fourth satire, 42-4:

quos operit *glacies* Maeotica ruptaque tandem  
solibus effundit *torrentis* ad ostia Ponti  
desidia tardos et longo frigore *pingues*.

As for the alteration of *sparsus* to *aspersus*, Juvenal, IX, 84 is cited by Servius on *Georg.*, II, 502, and for *spargere*, which all the MSS of Juvenal have, the MSS of Servius offer: *spargere*

<sup>22</sup> München, 1950.

<sup>23</sup> *Physici et Medici Graeci Minores*, ed. J. L. Ideler, I (Berlin, 1841), p. 122.

<sup>24</sup> Ed. C. G. Kühn, VI (Leipzig, 1823), p. 722. This passage was first noticed by Hadr. Valesius.

AV, *aspargere* HM, *aspergere* P. Similar also is Ovid, *Met.*, XI, 518: *ascendere* N, *scandere* F. Finally, Housman's note on Manilius, IV, 780 (and p. 134) should stifle any objection that the verse, as now emended, hisses too much; to Housman's collection of hydras may be added *Eleg. in Maec.* 2, 33: *tum deus intersis diuis insignis auitis.*

## IX.

## Florus.

Spartianus, *De uita Hadriani*, 16, 3, records a whimsical interchange between the poet Florus and the Emperor Hadrian. Florus wrote, according to the MSS:

ego nolo Caesar esse,  
ambulare per Britannos,  
Scythicas pati pruinas.

And Hadrian replied:

ego nolo Florus esse,  
ambulare per tabernas,  
latitare per popinas,  
culices pati rotundos.

It is obvious that the third verse of Florus' ποιημάτων has dropped out of the MSS, that two of the three words in the missing verse were *latitare per*, and that *per* was followed by the name of some people or tribe. Rösinger<sup>25</sup> patriotically conjectured *Germanos* but this, although mentioned by several editors, is plainly unmetrical. The wit, such as it is, of Hadrian's reply consists partly in his imitation of Florus' metrical pattern; therefore a bacchius is wanted after *per*.

Florus declares that he, unlike the wandering Emperor, has no wish to travel to the ends of the earth. Vergil's Meliboeus, contemplating exile in some remote quarter of the world, expresses himself in a similar manner, *Buc.*, I, 64-6:

at nos hinc alii sitientis ibimus Afros,  
pars Scythiam et rapidum cretae ueniemus Oaxen,<sup>26</sup>  
et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos.

<sup>25</sup> *De scriptoribus historiae Augustae commentatio critica* (Schweidnitz, 1868), p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Whatever the precise interpretation of *rapidum*—*Oaxen*, the form of the passage shows that Vergil intended the Oaxes to be a river in the East and not in Crete. Sabbadini (Rome, 1937) makes a curious

Since Florus mentions the West (Britain) and the North (Scythia), in the missing verse he most probably referred to the East. And then as a third verse:

latitare per Sabaeos.

The Sabaeans are mentioned in a context of this kind by Seneca, *Herc. Oet.*, 1521-4:

dic sub Aurora positis Sabaeis,  
dic sub occasu positis Hiberis,  
quique sub plaustro patiuntur ursae,  
quique feruenti quatiuntur axe.

Florus leaves out Africa for the simple reason that his home was in Africa; for there can hardly be any doubt that Florus the poet and Florus the author of the fragment *Vergilius orator an poeta*, who identifies himself as an African, are one and the same person.<sup>27</sup>

X.

Rutilius Namatianus, I, 227-8.

stringimus et fluctu et tempore Castrum;  
index semiruti porta uetusta loci.

227 *spatium in VR relictum uarie suppleuerunt uiri docti:*  
absumptum (fluctuque et) *Castalio*, hinc exesum *Barth*,  
hinc canens *L. Müller*, expugnatum *Baehrens*, hinc effrac-  
tum *Keene*, hinc adflictum *Préchac*

The blank space after *stringimus* must have appeared in the now lost *codex Bobiensis*, from which V and R eventually derive. Efforts to mend the breach have been unsuccessful. The conjectures of Barth, Baehrens, Keene, and Préchac produce a verse such as Rutilius would never have written; for he nowhere elides a syllable in the third foot, and he always supports an elision in the second part of the fourth foot with a strong caesura in the third.<sup>28</sup> The conjectures of Castalio and Müller, while not open to these metrical objections, have little else to commend them. Furthermore, the elision which the MSS pre-

error in his note on this line: "*Creta enim propior Italiae est, quam ut per eam septentrionalis regio significetur.*"

<sup>27</sup> This is the judgment of the most recent editor, H. Malcovati, *L. Annaei Flori quae exstant* (Rome, 1938), pp. vii-viii.

<sup>28</sup> The metrical practice of Rutilius has been carefully treated by P. Rasi, *Riv. di Fil. Class.*, XXV (1897), pp. 169-214.

sent—*et fluctu et*—seems dubious. Elsewhere Rutilius elides a long syllable in this position four times, and each time it is the final syllable of a molossus preceded by a strong caesura in the third foot.<sup>29</sup> Even if it be argued that *et fluctu* counts rhythmically for a molossus, Rutilius would hardly have closed a hexameter with a cadence so awkward as *et fluctu et tempore Castrum*. In view of these difficulties I suggest that the space after *stringimus*, indicated apparently in one medieval MS of uncertain date, is delusory, and that the verse Rutilius constructed was this:

stringimus et fluctu consumptum et tempore Castrum.

That the verse has now acquired some rhetorical form seems obvious. The meter is impeccable: Rutilius elides a short syllable ten times in this position, and eight of the ten times the word elided is, as here, a palimbacchius preceded by a strong caesura in the third foot.<sup>30</sup> The sense of *consumptum* is apt; cf. Cic., *De leg.*, I, 2: *sed cum eam* [sc. *quercum*] *tempestas uetustasue consumpserit*; Sen. Rhet., *Suas.*, V, 8: *ipsa trophaea et tempestatibus et aetate consumi*; and Rutilius himself in a similar context, I, 409-10: *agnosci nequeunt aevi monumenta prioris, / grandia consumpsit moenia tempus edax*.

If then Rutilius wrote *stringimus et fluctu consumptum*, how came a space to be left after *stringimus*? Perhaps *consumptum* was omitted because of its similarity to *et fluctu* (written in minuscule, *et fluctu* and *consumptum* would look very much alike), and then a later scribe, noticing the defective meter, fancied that *et fluctu* and *et tempore* belonged together and that something had fallen out after *stringimus*. However important the evidence of the MSS, considerations of meter, style, and sense, which support the emendation *et fluctu consumptum*, are more important: *nobis et ratio et res ipsa . . .*<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> I, 487, 539, 569, 615.

<sup>30</sup> I, 9, 29 (*post saeva incendia*), 39, 53 (*scelerata obliuia*), 99, 119, 133, 447, 509; II, 23.

<sup>31</sup> I am indebted to Professor F. H. Fobes of Amherst College, who read this article through and made several helpful suggestions.

## THE PREFECTS OF EGYPT IN A. D. 119.<sup>1</sup>

The most recent chronology of the prefects of Egypt, published in 1950, shows a gap between the middle of A. D. 119, when Q. Rammius Martialis was in office, and the middle of 120, when the prefect was T. Haterius Nepos.<sup>2</sup> *P. Oxy.*, XX, 2265, published in 1952, brought the information that Nepos was already prefect in August of 119. In assessing this new information the editors of the papyrus were embarrassed by what now appeared to be an overlapping between the beginning of Nepos' prefecture and the end of his predecessor's. The purpose of this paper is to show that there is actually no chronological difficulty.

*P. Oxy.* 2265 is a copy of a brief letter from Haterius Nepos to the *strategoi* of Upper Egypt,<sup>3</sup> instructing them to cooperate

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations will be used in this article in addition to the customary epigraphical and papyrological designations: *F. I. R. A.* = S. Riccobono, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, I (Florence, 1941); *Hibis* = H. G. Evelyn White and J. H. Oliver, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*, Part II: *Greek Inscriptions* (New York, 1938); *Präf.* = A. Stein, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bern, 1950); *Unt.* = A. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Ägyptens unter roemischer Herrschaft* (Stuttgart, 1915).

<sup>2</sup> See *Präf.*, pp. 61-5 and 192. Part of the statement therein with regard to *P. Fuad* 10 needs correction. This papyrus does *not* lack "die Jahresangabe," and does, accordingly, provide evidence that T. Haterius Nepos was prefect some time between 25 June and 28 August 120. Prior to the publication of *P. Oxy.* 2265 this was the earliest date attested for Nepos' prefecture.

<sup>3</sup> The term *ἀνω χώρα*, which has previously occurred in a similar context in *P. S. I.* 1148 (A. D. 210), is regarded by the Oxyrhynchus editors as designating the Thebaid. But the fact that the letter from the prefect in *P. S. I.* 1148 is addressed *στρατηγοῖς Ἀρσινουτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνω χώρας μέχρι Κοπρίτου* (lines 1 and 29) suggests that *ἀνω χώρα* was a more general designation for the entire "upcountry," including the Heptanomia as well as the Thebaid. In *P. Oxy.* 709 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 32), the Thebaid-Heptanomia-Arsinoite area is clearly contrasted with the *κάτω χώρα*, which term, we know, designated the Delta (Strabo, I, 2, 23; XVII, 1, 4). It would thus appear that although the Romans divided Egypt for administrative purposes into three *epistrategiai* (Thebaid; Heptanomia plus Arsinoite; Delta), the age-old division into Upper and Lower Egypt, which goes back to the very

with the agents of the collector of the *vicesima libertatis*.<sup>4</sup> In the margin to the left of lines 5-9 are the remains of a date, which the editors read and restore as follows:

[ ἐξέ ] δόθη  
[ . . . ] πρὸ τρισ-  
[ κ(αι) δεκά ] τ(ης) κα-  
[ λανδ ] ὧν Σ-  
[ επ ] τεμβρί-  
[ ων (ἐτους) ] γ.

"The marginal note records," the editors remark,<sup>5</sup> "that this document, or a copy of it, had been exhibited by one of the strategi to whom it was addressed on 20 Aug. A. D. 119. As Q. Rammius Martialis is recorded as prefect as late as 4 Aug. 119 . . . the question arises [since the letter would have taken a fortnight or more to come from Alexandria] whether Haterius Nepos may have been titular prefect at the time 2265 was

beginnings of Egyptian history, persisted in Roman times—as it has indeed to the present day, since it is rooted, after all, in the physical geography of the land.

If the view offered here is correct, it may in turn provide the solution for a celebrated crux in the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander (*O. G. I. S.* 669 = *I. G. R. R.*, I, 1263 = *Hibis*, 4). In lines 47-8 of this inscription mention is made of the Thebaid and of the κάτω χώρα, and there is a lacuna of about 18 letters in between. Dittenberger completed the lacuna with verbs rendering the apparent sense; this restoration is retained in *I. G. R. R.* and in *Hibis*. Martin (*Les épistratèges*, pp. 87-8) argued the logic of expecting here, between the southern and the northern *epistrategiai*, a mention of the interjacent Heptanomia; this view was accepted by Wilcken (*Grundzüge*, p. 35) and by Schubart (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, XIV [1941], p. 41). One of the troubles with the restoration ξ νομῶν is that it leaves out the Arsinoite nome, which, with the Heptanomia, constituted the third *epistrategia*. Perhaps this difficulty would be obviated by restoring, instead, the less specific term ἄνω χώρα. The assonant contrast of ἄνω χώρα with the following κάτω χώρα would, moreover, be entirely in keeping with the rhetorical quality of the passage.

<sup>4</sup> A tax farmer or collector in Roman Egypt normally had a small, local area of responsibility. From *P. Oxy.* 2265 it appears that the collection of the *vicesima libertatis* in the whole ἄνω χώρα had been let to a single individual. This is no doubt to be explained by the fact that this tax was paid only by Roman citizens, who could not have been very numerous in Upper Egypt.

<sup>5</sup> *P. Oxy.*, XX, p. 135.



written." In reality, however, this complication does not arise, for both of the assumptions on which it is based prove upon closer examination to be incorrect.

## I.

I turn first to a consideration of these two assumptions.

1. It has been generally assumed<sup>6</sup> that Rammius Martialis was still prefect on 4 August 119, the date of *B. G. U.* 140, in which he is mentioned. The error in this assumption was noticed by Mlle. Claire Préaux in her review of *P. Oxy.*, XX.<sup>7</sup> *B. G. U.* 140 (= Mitteis, *Chrest.* 373 = *F. I. R. A.* 78) contains a Greek translation of a letter from Hadrian to Rammius granting inheritance rights to the children of soldiers. The date placed at the head, corresponding to 4 August 119, is explicitly stated to be the date on which the translation of the letter was publicly posted in Egypt in the camp of the Alexandrian legions. The letter itself, addressed to Rammius, must therefore have been sent from Rome two weeks or so before that date.

Clearly, then, while Q. Rammius Martialis *may* still have been prefect on 4 August 119, *B. G. U.* 140 contains no proof that he was. On the other hand, Rammius was still prefect when the emperor addressed this letter to him; and as the contents of the letter are such as to suggest that it would have been translated and posted without delay upon its receipt by the prefect,<sup>8</sup> *B. G. U.* 140 can be regarded as affording indirect evidence that Rammius was still prefect as late as approximately the middle of July 119.

2. The editors of *P. Oxy.* 2265, as we have seen, interpreted its date of 20 August 119 as the date on which this communication from Haterius Nepos was placarded by one of the recipient nome *strategoi*. I submit, instead, that this must be the date on which this letter was issued by the prefect in Alexandria.

In the first place there is, I think, serious doubt that publication in the nome enters into the picture at all. Nepos' letter is

<sup>6</sup> Cf. e.g. *Präf.*, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> In *Chronique d'Egypte*, XXIX (1954), pp. 148-9.

<sup>8</sup> The letter contains, in fact, this instruction from the emperor: ταύτην μου τὴν δωρεὰν καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῖς οὐετρανοῖς εὐγνωστὸν σε ποιῆσαι δεήσει (lines 28-31).

a "directive" (as we say these days) from the governor of the province to the governors of the nomes, instructing them on their relations to a tax farmer.<sup>9</sup> On the face of it, certainly, this is an intra-administration communication, not a public proclamation to be posted by the recipient *strategoi*. Moreover, official communications intended for public exhibition usually contained a specific instruction to that effect in the body of the document<sup>10</sup> or in an accompanying letter of transmittal.<sup>11</sup>

Quite apart from this, however, the form of the date in *P. Oxy.* 2265 is its own decisive proof of origin. The significant fact about this date is that it is given by the Roman calendar. Now the internal administration of the eastern Roman provinces was conducted, as we know, mainly in Greek. In Egypt, more completely even than in the other Hellenistic provinces,<sup>12</sup> the use of Latin was confined during the Principate to the three spheres directly representative of the Roman authority—the *ius civile*, the prefect's office, and the military establishment; and even in these areas Greek was the language of communication with the provincials.<sup>13</sup> In a Greek papyrus earlier than the Dominate, therefore, a date by the Roman calendar indicates that the document is a translation from a Latin original, and this in turn places the document's origin in one of the three spheres just noted.<sup>14</sup> In the case of *P. Oxy.* 2265, accordingly,

<sup>9</sup> Presumably, as the editors suggest, one who had recently taken up the contract.

<sup>10</sup> E. g. *P. S. I.* 1148, lines 21-2; cf. also note 8, above.

<sup>11</sup> E. g. lines 10-13 of *O. G. I. S.* 665 = *I. G. R. R.*, I, 1262 = *Hibis*, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Unt.*, pp. 151-3.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 140-66. A good example is afforded by *B. G. U.* 140, discussed above. A pointed illustration of this situation from another eastern province is found in an inscription from Moesia Inferior (*C. I. L.*, III, 781 = *I. L. S.* 423 = *F. I. R. A.* 86; A. D. 201), where the letter from the emperors to the governor is in Latin, but the governor's letter transmitting it to the city of Tyras is in Greek. See also note 15.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Unt.*, p. 155, n. 1: "Wie schon erwähnt . . . ist sonst überall in Ägypten die Zählung nach Königsjahren durchgeführt und es ist daher die Datierung nach Konsuln oder die Doppeldatierung, ja schon die Anwendung des römischen Kalenders in der vordiokletianischen Epoche ein Kennzeichen für die ursprünglich lateinische Fassung des Schriftstückes." Similarly Wilcken, *Hermes*, LV (1920), p. 33. By the same token the Greek letter from Moesia mentioned in note 13 is a translation from the Roman governor's original Latin.

the Roman date must come from the prefect's office; it cannot possibly refer to any administrative action by the *strategos*, who conducted all his affairs in Greek.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, 20 August 119 is the date on which Haterius Nepos' letter was issued and, by the same token, is the earliest date thus far attested for his prefecture.

In sum, then, the present state of our knowledge concerning the succession in the prefecture of Egypt in A.D. 119 is the following:

Q. Rammius Martialis held the office as late as some time in July, and perhaps as late as 4 August.

T. Haterius Nepos was in office by 20 August.

## II.

I come, finally, to the text of the marginal notation in *P. Oxy.* 2265. At first sight ἐξε]δόθη appears to be the most natural of restorations for the first line. On further investigation, however, two objections present themselves. First, as the editors are careful to indicate, this restoration does not quite fill the presumable lacuna. Secondly, while ἐκδίδωμι does denote in Greek literature the issuance, or publication, of a writing by its author, the only instance, as far as I am aware, where this verb is so used of governmental pronouncements is in a pair of texts from the second century B. C. which refer to certain Ptolemaic ordinances as τὰ περὶ τῶν κατοίκων ἐγδεδομένα προστάγματα.<sup>16</sup> In Roman

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *Unt.*, p. 150: "So finden wir auch in Ägypten ganz ausnahmslos die griechische Amtssprache sowohl bei den städtischen, bzw. Dorf-funktionären und Körperschaften, als auch bei den niederen staatlichen Ämtern bis hinauf zum Strategen in Gebrauch. Das gilt nicht nur von der inneren Amtssprache dieser Behörden, sondern auch von ihrem Verkehr mit den höheren und höchsten staatlichen Ämtern." Also, *ibid.*, pp. 163-4: "Nicht nur dass . . . alle städtischen Ämter und auch alle staatlichen untergeordneten Organe bis einschliesslich zum Strategen griechisch amtieren, wir sehen auch den Präekten und die anderen Reichsbeamten mit den Strategen nur griechisch korrespondieren. Der Strateg war also in keinem Fall in die Notwendigkeit versetzt, das Lateinische auch nur zu verstehen. Sein amtlicher Verkehr . . . wickelt sich lediglich in griechischer Sprache ab."

<sup>16</sup> *P. Teb.* 61 (b), line 224 = 72, lines 155-6.

times—assuming for the moment that *P. Oxy.* 2265 was intended for publication, though this, it will be recalled, has been questioned above—the promulgation of rescripts, edicts, and other official documents issued for public notice is regularly expressed by the verb *προτίθημι*, most commonly encountered in the form *προετίθη* (= *propositum*) followed by the place and date; while *ἐκδίδωμι* is confined to the issuance of receipts, the execution of contracts, and other contexts of private, rather than public, life. *μεταδίδωμι*, on the other hand, often signifies “to communicate,” or “transmit,” notices, memoranda, etc.<sup>17</sup> The restoration *μετε]δόθη* in line 1 would, accordingly, provide both the additional letter apparently required by the lacuna and the sense of “issued” required by the context.

There is no doubt, however, that *μετε]δόθη* complicates the restoration of the next line. The most natural solution there would be to restore *τη]*, in agreement with the following *τριω- [κ(αι)δεκά]τ(η)* taken as a dative.<sup>18</sup> With *ἐξε]δόθη* in line 1, *τη]* is probably enough to fill a corresponding lacuna in line 2, but it is clearly too short if we read *μετε]δόθη*. The thought arises that *τη]* may have been preceded by a preposition, such as *ἐπί*, but this would be, as far as I am aware, unprecedented.

There is still another possibility—the best of all, perhaps. There are among the papyri several petitions to the prefect bearing, at the bottom, the text of his reply followed by the notation *πρόθες* or *ἀπόδος*. Wilcken, who dealt with this matter more than once, came finally to the conclusion that the two laconic imperatives were equivalent, alternative notations which the prefect used to order these documents, with his decisions appended, posted in public so that the interested parties could take note and make copies.<sup>19</sup> There is no difficulty about this interpretation of *πρόθες*, which equals *propone*; <sup>20</sup> to arrive at a

<sup>17</sup> Evidence for these remarks on *ἐκδίδωμι*, *προτίθημι*, and *μεταδίδωμι*, is readily available in Liddell-Scott-Jones and in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s. vv.; cf. also Wilcken, *Hermes*, LV (1920), pp. 21-41. A series of examples of the *προετίθη-propositum* notation of promulgation in inscriptions and papyri of the first to fourth centuries can be seen in *F. I. R. A.* 73, 78, 81, 84, 85, 86, 89, 94.

<sup>18</sup> Parallels are found in *B. G. U.* 1032 and in *S. I. G.*<sup>3</sup> 646 (= *F. I. R. A.* 31), 814 (= *I. L. S.* 8794 = *I. G.*, VII, 2713), and 826D.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Wilcken, *Hermes*, LV (1920), pp. 29-31.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. note 17, above.

similar meaning for ἀπόδος, Wilcken equated ἀποδίδωμι with *edere*, for which he could cite *Digest*, II, 13, 1, 1: *edere est etiam copiam describendi facere*. While this interpretation has not met with universal acceptance,<sup>21</sup> it may well be essentially correct. Additional evidence in its support can be found in the letter, cited above,<sup>22</sup> from a governor of Moesia Inferior to the city of Tyras. At the end of this letter, in place of the customary προετέθη-place-date, we have ἀπεδόθη πρὸ γ' καλανδῶν Μαρτίων.<sup>23</sup> If there is any difference between προτίθημι and ἀποδίδωμι in these contexts, it would appear to be that the former refers specifically to the act of posting in public while in the latter the emphasis is rather on the connotation of issuing.<sup>24</sup>

It may be, therefore, that the first line of the date in *P. Oxy.* 2265 should be restored ἀπε]δόθη. If so, τῇ] will suffice in line 2.

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<sup>21</sup> It is doubted, for example, in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. ἀποδίδωμι 2, and is ignored in Liddell-Scott-Jones, which, however, cites (s. v., 5 b) the meaning of "exhibit," "display," from literature.

<sup>22</sup> See notes 13 and 14.

<sup>23</sup> In *F. I. R. A.* 86 the editor renders ἀπεδόθη as *accepta*, which cannot be right since the Roman date must refer to the governor's issuance of the letter: cf. above, note 14.

<sup>24</sup> This calls to mind the notation "*datum*-date-place" at the end of some imperial letters (e. g., *C. I. L.*, IX, 5420 = *F. I. R. A.* 75). In Greek versions of such letters (e. g., *S. I. G.*<sup>3</sup> 831 [= *I. G. R. R.*, IV, 349], 837 [= *F. I. R. A.* 80], and 851) this notation of issuance is put in the form "date-ἀπὸ-place," the verb of issuing obviously being omitted as supererogatory.

## THE CONSULAR BROTHERS OF SEJANUS.

Sejanus, Tiberius' great minister, had two or more brothers who reached the consulate. But no ancient source tells what names they bore, whether they were brothers by birth or by adoption, or what fate they met when Sejanus fell from power and was strangled in the *carcer Tullianum* 18 October A. D. 31, if indeed they were then still alive. Velleius Paterculus, a contemporary historian favorable to the cause and party of Sejanus, establishes their existence: *Seianum Aelium, principe equestris ordinis patre natum, materno vero genere clarissimas veteresque et insignis honoribus complexum familias, habentem consularis fratres, consobrinos, avunculum* (II, 127, 3). Tacitus adds the information that Sejanus was born at Volsinii and his father was Seius Strabo, *praefectus praetorio* A. D. 14 (*Ann.*, I, 24; IV, 1). In 1843 Borghesi set forth his views and they have dominated all subsequent discussion.<sup>1</sup> A certain Aelius Gallus, not otherwise known, had sought refuge in the gardens of the poet Pomponius Secundus during the terror following the downfall of Sejanus (*Ann.*, V, 8). Borghesi assumed that he was Sejanus' son, and hence reasoned that Sejanus' adoptive father was Aelius Gallus, *praefectus Aegypti* 25-24 B. C.; the brothers he identified as L. Seius Tubero, *cos. suff.* A. D. 18, and M. Seius Veranus, whose consulate he dated to the principate of Tiberius.

The progress of epigraphy in the century since Borghesi's paper has dealt harshly with it. In 1929 a fragment of the *fasti Ostienses* was found which named and gave the fate of Sejanus' wife and his three children: on 24 Oct. Strabo [Seiani] f. was strangled; [Apicata] Seiani killed herself on 26 Oct.; and the bodies of Capito Aelia[nus] and Iunilla Seiani f. were exposed on the *scalae Gemoniae*.<sup>2</sup> Although the Aelius Gallus

<sup>1</sup> "Sopra un'Iscriizione del Museo Compagna," *Oeuvres*, IV (1865), pp. 435-51, originally published in *Saggiatore romano*, I (1844), pp. 286-92, 326-32. The inscription was VI, 9535: *Liburnus L. Sei Strabonis a manu, Salvilla coniunx fecit*.

<sup>2</sup> Sejanus had three children by Apicata (Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 3), whom he put away in A. D. 23. Apicata: *P. I. E.*<sup>2</sup>, A 913. (Aelius) Strabo: A 267. (Aelius) Capito Aelianus: C 412; but E. Stein is quoted in *C. I. L.*, XIV (1930), p. 656 (*I. I.*, XIII, 1, 217) as giving the name of



of A. D. 31 belonged to the party of Sejanus and was probably a grandson of Aelius Gallus, *praef. Aeg.*, it is difficult to see on what basis any kinship of either of them to Sejanus can be claimed. M. Seius Veranus (known from a single inscription, III, 2028) was *cos. suff.* between 39 and 44, does not seem to have been related to Sejanus so far as present evidence goes, and could not have been referred to by Velleius, whose history ends in A. D. 30.<sup>3</sup> While the reasons which Borghesi gave for his views have been refuted by new evidence, the views themselves—such is the law of inertia—still prevail.<sup>4</sup>

A point of departure for examining the problem of the identity of the *consularis fratres* has been provided by Attilio Degrossi in his exhaustive study of the consular *fasti*. He has shown that the *fasti* are substantially complete through the year A. D. 38 and that there is a high probability the *fratres* are already listed and need only to be pointed out; and he has suggested that they be sought in the *gens Aelia*, as well as in the *gens Seia*.<sup>5</sup> L. Seius Tubero, *cos. suff.* A. D. 18, is surely one of them; and his rare cognomen, almost unused except by the noble family of the Aelii, suggests kinship to them.<sup>6</sup> Since he is the only Seius on the *fasti* before A. D. 31 (a century and a half elapse after Seius Tubero and Seius Veranus before this

Capito Aelianus the more likely form (Fonteius) Capito Aelianus and suggesting that the boy was adopted by a Fonteius, possibly C. Fonteius Capito, *cos.* A. D. 12, *P. I. R.*<sup>2</sup>, F 470. (Aelia) Iunilla: A 297.

<sup>3</sup> M. Seius Veranus: III, 8753 (= III, 2028), erected by veterans of legio V Macedonica, when P. Memmius Regulus, *cos. suff.* 31, was legate of Moesia A. D. 35-44; Stein, *Die Legaten von Moesien*, p. 24. No more Seii appear on the *fasti* until P. Seius Fuscianus, *cos. II* A. D. 188, and Seius Superstes, *cos. suff.* before 193.

<sup>4</sup> A. Stein, *P. I. R.*<sup>2</sup>, A 255 (Sejanus), A 178 (the younger Aelius Gallus), A 179 (Aelius Gallus), accepts Borghesi's *stemma* despite the *fasti Ostienses*.

<sup>5</sup> "Osservazioni su alcuni consoli suffetti dell'età di Augusto e Tiberio," *Epigraphica*, VIII (1946), pp. 34-9, and especially p. 39, n. 4: "Il Borghesi (*Oeuvres*, IV, p. 444 seq.) dal nome di un supposto figlio di Seiano stimo che il padre adottivo fosse un certo Aelius Gallus, cavaliere. Ma ora che si sa che Aelius Gallus non fu figlio di Seiano (cfr. *Fasti Ost.* all'a. 31), me pare che l'ipotesi del Borghesi debba esser abbandonata. È ancora incline ad accetterla lo Stein."

<sup>6</sup> Tubero is quite rare, not listed at all in *C. I. L.*, I, II, III, IV, VIII, IX, XII, XVI (except for members of the noble Aelii), once in XIV (the *cos. suff.* A. D. 18), twice in V, and three times each in X and XI.

*nomen* again appears on the *fasti*), it remains only to consider the Aelii. There are three in this period: Q. Aelius Tubero, *cos.* 11 B. C., L. Aelius Lamia, *cos.* A. D. 3, Sex. Aelius Catus, *cos.* A. D. 4. It seems unlikely that Lamia would have been made *praefectus urbi* in A. D. 32 if he had been closely related to Sejanus. Tubero and Catus deserve further examination.

Tacitus regarded Sejanus contemptuously as *municipalis adulter*,<sup>7</sup> striving to rise above the station in life to which he was born,

One of the low on whom assurance sits  
As a silk hat on a Bradford millionaire (233-4).

It was this point of view, as much as his unfounded belief that Aelius Gallus was Sejanus' son, which led Borghesi to believe that Sejanus' admirer Velleius would have said so had he been adopted into a noble family.<sup>8</sup> Too much emphasis may be placed on what an ancient historian fails to record. Thucydides, for example, did not say that the tribute was doubled in 425 B. C., and Velleius never once mentions Sejanus' father by name, referring to him allusively as a leader of the equestrian order. Yet he held the two greatest offices a Roman knight could attain, overshadowing consuls and proconsuls in his power.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, several pieces of evidence suggest a connection between the noble Aelii Tuberones and Sejanus.

L. Seius Tubero is the only consul or senator of Republic or Empire who uses the cognomen Tubero, except the noble Aelii (who variously use the cognomina Tubero, Paetus, and Catus from the 3d century B. C.). It is possible that, like Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus, *cos.* A. D. 5, M. Crassus Frugi, *cos.* 14 B. C., and T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus, *cos.* A. D. 44, he took his cognomen from his mother. If he was born about 20 B. C.,

<sup>7</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 3.

<sup>8</sup> "Si e cercato qual fosse la casa degli Elia, e non si e ritrovata. Chi ha pensato agli Elia Cati, o Tuberoni, e agli Elia Lamia consolari di questi tempi, non ha avvertito, che se fosse entrato in una nobile casa, l'adulatore Velleio Patereulo non avrebbe mancato di menarne gran vanto," p. 444.

<sup>9</sup> For the importance of Roman knights, Syme, *R. R.*, 354-9; esp. p. 357: "The Viceroy of Egypt could look down from high eminence upon a mere proconsul of Crete or Cyprus; and the Prefect of the Guard knew what little power resided in the decorative office and title of consul."

she would then be born about 40 B. C.; perhaps she was an Aelia. There was another Aelia in the same generation, daughter of Q. Aelius Tubero the jurist and mother of C. Cassius Longinus, *cos. suff.* A. D. 30.<sup>10</sup> It might be hazarded that they were sisters.

There was also a political connection between the Cassii and Sejanus. Both L. Cassius Longinus and C. Cassius Longinus reached the consulate in the same year, A. D. 30, a signal honor, which fell to few families indeed.<sup>11</sup> Sejanus was now at the height of his power. In the same year (L.) Cassius, at the instance of Sejanus, made an attack in the senate on Drusus, son of Germanicus.<sup>12</sup>

Three generations after Sejanus another bit of evidence turns up which may be a mere coincidence—or may not be. One of the great land and brick-yard owners of the Hadrianic age was Flavia Seia Isaurica, whose dated brick-stamps fall within the years A. D. 123-141. One of her properties was the *figlinae Caelianae*; in the mid-first century, a generation after Sejanus, its foreman had been a C. Cassius C. f. Vetus. Another property which she owned, the *figlinae Tonneianae et Vicianae*, had previously belonged to Paetina, whom Gatti convincingly identified with Aelia Paetina, wife of the emperor Claudius. Who Flavia Seia Isaurica was can only be a matter for speculation.<sup>13</sup> It is unlikely that Sejanus left any descendants; perhaps her

<sup>10</sup> The daughter of the jurist Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, *cos.* 51 B. C., married Tubero the jurist, and their daughter was mother of C. Cassius Longinus, *cos. suff.* A. D. 30 (Pomponius, *Dig.*, I, 2, 2, 51), probably also of L. Cassius Longinus, *cos.* A. D. 30; her husband was doubtless L. Cassius Longinus, *cos. suff.* A. D. 11, *P. I. R.*<sup>2</sup>, C 502 and A 282a.

<sup>11</sup> Only to A. and L. Vitellius, *cos.* and *cos. suff.* 48, under the Julio-Claudians.

<sup>12</sup> Dio, LVIII, 3, 8; *P. I. R.*<sup>2</sup>, C 503.

<sup>13</sup> Flavia Seia Isaurica: *R.-E.*, VI, col. 2737, n. 245; *P. I. R.*<sup>1</sup>, F 288; XV, 1422. C. Cassius C. f. Vetus: VIII, 22632, 13. Paetina: H. Bloch, *H. S. C. P.*, LVI-LVII (1947), p. 50, nn. 196-197; Gatti, *Bull. Com.*, XX (1892), p. 374; his identification is approved by Bloch, "a very convincing suggestion." Dressel, XV, p. 15 calls Seia "mulier certe nobilissima." Servilia may have been part of her full name, cf. XV, 50, and it can be conjectured that both she and her predecessor, Plotia Servilia Isaurica, are related to or heirs of the *praetorius dives* Servilius Vatia (Seneca, *Ep.* 55). The ownership of the brick-yards as evidence for the interrelationship of the Seii, Aelii, Cassii, and Servilii was suggested to me by Mr. John Morris.

lineage derives from L. Seius Tubero. There is also some connection with the Servilii Isaurici; she was evidently related to Plotia Servilia Isaurica, who owned part of the *figlinae Caepionianae* early in the reign of Trajan; and her heir was M. Flavius Aper, *cos.* A. D. 130, or his son.

The theory that Q. Aelius Tubero the jurist and father of two consuls (Q. Tubero, *cos.* 11 B. C.; Sex. Catus, *cos.* A. D. 4) adopted Sejanus would provide Sejanus with the *consularis fratres* which otherwise cannot be accounted for.<sup>14</sup> It is difficult to say how long Q. Tubero lived; he seems to be the Tubero to whom Dionysius dedicated his essay on Thucydides, and Dionysius was at Rome from 30 to 8 B. C.<sup>15</sup> Sejanus accompanied C. Caesar, *cos.* A. D. 1, who was born 20 B. C., to the East in early youth (*prima iuventa*, Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 1); and was probably himself born not far from 20 B. C. Tubero was quite young in 46 B. C. when he accused Ligarius (Quint., XI, 1, 80); his sons were probably born about 44 and 29 B. C.; and it is reasonable to assume his life overlapped Sejanus' ten to twenty years.<sup>16</sup>

The eminence and antiquity of Sejanus' mother's family, about which Tacitus says nothing at all, was only revealed in 1903 when an inscription discovered at Volsinii gave both her name and his father's mother's name: Cosconia Lentuli Maluginensis f. Gallitta and Terentia A. f. (*I. L. S.*, 8996).<sup>17</sup> Cosconia was thus a patrician, sister of Ser. Maluginensis, *cos. suff.* A. D. 10, and P. Scipio, *cos. suff.* A. D. 2, and half-sister of

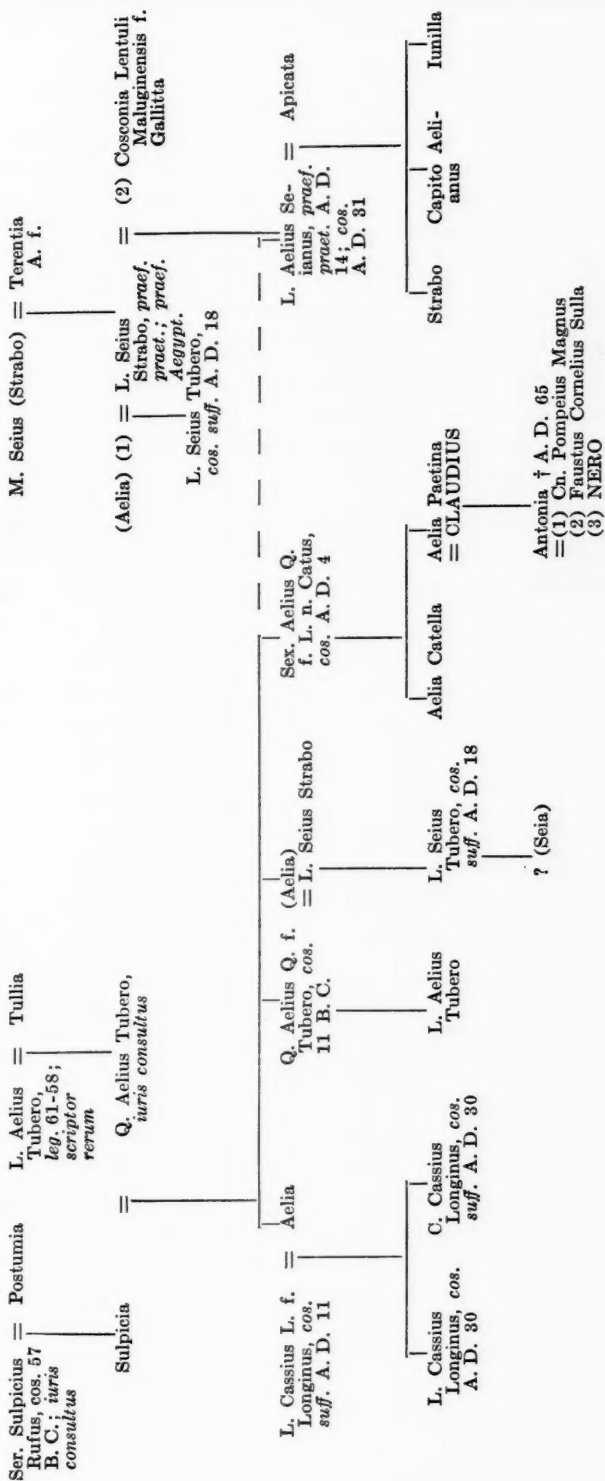
<sup>14</sup> Groag, *P. I. R.*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 329 (*stemma* Lentulorum), and Syme, *R. R.*, Table VI, insert a hypothetical (Seius?), *cos. a. inc.* In view of Degraffi's work, it does not seem possible to fit him in the *fasti*.

<sup>15</sup> Groag, *P. I. R.*<sup>2</sup>, A 274 suggests that it was the jurist to whom Dionysius dedicated the essay; but Stein, *P. I. R.*<sup>2</sup>, D 102 suggests it was his son, the *cos.* 11 B. C. Cf. Christ-Schmid, *Gr. Litt.*, II (1920), pp. 466-75. The jurist is not included in *P. I. R.*; but then neither is Cascellius, to whom Augustus offered the consulate (Pomponius, *Dig.*, I, 2, 2, 45); other eminent men have been omitted by *R.-E.*, and *P. I. R.*: Syme, *J. R. S.*, XLIII (1953), pp. 150, 161.

<sup>16</sup> The paucity of information about the jurist, indeed its failure for his mature years, is perhaps the weakest aspect of the theory that he adopted Sejanus.

<sup>17</sup> On the inscription, *Not. Scav.*, 1903, p. 366 = XI, 7283 = *I. L. S.*, 8996, Cichorius, "Zur Familiengeschichte Seians," *Hermes*, XXXIX (1904), pp. 461-71, gives a full discussion of family connections, which may be brought up to date from the *stemmata* of Groag (*P. I. R.*<sup>2</sup>, II) and Syme (*R. R.*, pp. 358, 384 and Table VI).

## THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEJANUS, THE AELII, AND THE CASSII.



Q. Junius Blaesus, *cos. suff.* A. D. 10; and the elevation of his two brothers-in-law to the consulate as colleagues is perhaps an indication of the real power of L. Seius Strabo.<sup>18</sup> Terentia, sister of C. Maecenas' wife and also of Varro Murena, *cos.* 23 B. C., was of noble birth. The Seii themselves, though not nobles, were solid and substantial citizens: Strabo's grandfather defeated Pupius Piso for the curule aedileship of 74 B. C., and his father was a wealthy landowner, a friend of Varro and Appius Claudius, and may claim a place in history as the inventor of *pâté de fois gras*.<sup>19</sup> It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Tacitus' account of Sejanus' family and background, while not false, is deliberately misleading.<sup>20</sup>

To sum up, L. Seius Strabo seems to have married twice. Aelia, his first wife, mother of L. Seius Tubero, probably died soon after; he then allied himself with the Cornelii Maluginenses, but his alliance with the Aelii was maintained by the adoption of Sejanus (his son by his second marriage) by his first wife's father. Sejanus had three consular brothers, one by birth, two by adoption: L. Seius Tubero, Q. Aelius Tubero, and Sex. Aelius Catus. The *avunculum* is Q. Junius Blaesus; perhaps the other two uncles were dead when Velleius wrote, certainly they were less prominent. The *consobrinus* were P. Scipio, *cos. suff.* A. D. 24, and Q. Junius Blaesus, *cos. suff.* A. D. 28. Scipio's sister, Cornelia (Livia) Orestina (*P. I. R.*<sup>2</sup>, C 1492), married a young man whose name, like Sejanus', figures in a famous conspiracy—C. Calpurnius Piso.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The name Cosconia is difficult to account for; probably it was her mother's name, who would have been born about 60 B. C., daughter of C. Cosconius, *pr.* 54, or of C. Cosconius, *pr.* 63. The patriciate, obscure and depressed financially, often strove to rehabilitate their families by marrying into the families of wealthy *novi homines*. After the death of the praetor 54, no more Cosconii appear in the Senate; perhaps the hypothetical Cosconia was the last of her family, even an heiress.

<sup>19</sup> The honor of inventing *pâté* is disputed by Metellus Scipio, *cos.* 52, Pliny, *H. N.*, X, 52.

<sup>20</sup> He might have written, *cui nobilitas per matrem*, as he did of Rubellius Plautus (*Ann.*, XIV, 22); cf. the examples of Tacitus' use of *nobilitas*, M. Gelzer, "Die Nobilität der Kaiserzeit," *Hermes*, L (1915), pp. 395-415.

<sup>21</sup> I am indebted to Professor F. E. Brown for his helpful criticism.



## TWO PROBLEMS IN THE IGUVINE TABLES.

### 1. Umbrian *vatuva*.

The formula *vatuva ferine fetu* occurs in Iguvine Tables I a 4, 13, 22, b 3, 5-6, 25; *uatuo ferine fetu* VI a 56, b 1, 19, 43-4, 45, VII a 4. The following orthographic variations deserve to be noticed, although they are without significance for the purpose of this article: *vatuvu* I b 25 in place of *vatuva*; *uatue* VI a 45 erroneously in place of *uatuo*; *ferime* I b 25 erroneously in place of *ferine*; *feitu* I a 4, VII a 4.<sup>1</sup> *vatra ferine feitu* occurs in III 31, with *vatra* probably, though not unquestionably, an error in place of *vatuva*. Apart from the isolated III 31, every instance of the formula occurs as part of a series of instructions for the ritual to be performed before the three gates of Iguvium and at three other specified points. The six passages in VI and VII correspond to the six in I: VI a 56 = I a 4, VI b 1 = I a 13, etc.

*ferine* is loc. sg. of a stem \**ferin-* from the root of the verb *fertu*, L. *fero*, and analogous in formation to Osc. *tanginud*, L. *legio*, etc., and designates some sort of tray, barrow, or other object used for carrying, commonly rendered in Latin by *ferculo* or *feretro*.<sup>2</sup>

The problematical word is *vatuva uatuo*. It is not practicable here to enumerate, much less to discuss, the various attempts to interpret it, but in addition to the standard editions of the Iguvine Tables mention should be made of the following journal articles: L. H. Gray, *B. B.*, XXVII (1902), p. 310; Goidànich, *A. G. I.*, XXV (1933), pp. 112-15; Ribezzo, *R. I. G. I.*, XVIII (1934), pp. 207-8; Hofmann, *Burs. Jb.*, CCLXX (1940), pp. 90, 92.

I propose here to regard *vatuva uatuo* as cognate with L. *latera* and to translate 'side-portions.'<sup>3</sup> The correspondence

<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary here to use bold-face type for forms occurring in Tables I-V a 7, according to the customary practice.

<sup>2</sup> For the gradation *-iō(n)/in-*, in contrast to that of L. *legiō*, *-ōnis*, see von Planta, II, p. 64, Buck, § 181. Von Blumenthal translates *ferine* 'ietu' (cf. p. 55), taking it as cognate with L. *ferio*, after a view which Bücheler earlier held but rejected in *Umbrica*, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> After this article was submitted for publication I found that Gino

Umb. *v-u* : L. *l-* is supported by *uapefe* : L. (*in*) *lapides*, *vutu* : cf. L. *lavo*, *Vuvçis* : L. *Lucius*.<sup>4</sup> It might be objected that the *l-* of L. *latus* results from *stl-* and that we should therefore expect the *s* to be preserved in Umbrian.<sup>5</sup> The treatment of initial preconsonantal *s* in Umbrian is not well known, but appears to show some inconsistency: *smursime* : cf. L. *Murcia* (?), but *ninctu* : L. *ninguito*. There is no Umbrian example of *sl-*, though Oscan has *Slabiis*, *slagim*. The etymology of U. *Tlatie* is too uncertain to have much bearing on our problem. It should be pointed out, however, that the change *l- > v-* must have been a relatively recent one, possibly peculiar to Iguvium and its environs, since initial *l-* is preserved not only in Oscan and Paelignian but even in minor Umbrian inscriptions from Todi and Fossato di Vico. If we admit first that L. *latus* may never have had *stl-* at all, and second that *stl-* could have been simplified to *l-* well in advance of the change *-l > v-*, then there is no great difficulty in connecting *vatuva* with *latus*, so far as the initial consonants are concerned. The stem-variation presents no problem, since stems in *-es-* and *-u-* are common Indo-European variants.<sup>6</sup> *vatuva uatuo* then may be an *u-*stem or a stem in the extended suffix *-uo-*; for our purposes it matters little.

The most difficult part of the problem is to make the pro-

Bottiglioni in his *Manuale dei dialetti italiani* (Bologna, 1954) also translates *vatuva uatuo* as *latera* in each passage where it occurs. The word is cited in § 54 as a possible example of the Umbrian change *l- > v-*, *u-*, and in § 118 in the paradigms of the second declension. Note 5 on p. 260 (on Table Ia 4) explains 'Le parti delle vittime tagliate' and makes reference, among certain other matters, to the fluctuation of stem-type seen in L. *pecua*, *pecora*; *penu*, *penus*, *-oris*. There is no detailed discussion of the word from the ritual viewpoint.

<sup>4</sup> Von Planta, I, pp. 285-9; Buck, § 104.

<sup>5</sup> The etymology of *latus*, *-eris* is rather uncertain. Walde-Pokorny, II, p. 643, under 2. *stel-* "ausbreiten, flach hinbreiten" derive it from \**stlō-t(o)*, an ablaut-variant of the same stem from which they derive *lātus* 'broad.' Walde-Hofmann treat all views of its origin with a certain degree of skepticism. Ernout-Meillet accept connection with OIr. *leth* 'côté.'

<sup>6</sup> The best Latin example of the variation is *pecus*, *-oris* : *pecū*. In Greek the correspondence of noun *τάχος* : adj. *ταχύς*, etc. is well attested. Cf. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1937), pp. 67-77.

posed interpretation of *vatuva ferine fetu* acceptable in relation to the ritual of the Iguvine Tables as a whole. The assumption here is that the *vatuva* may have been the parts of the victim which were not presented to the god but reserved for consumption by the priests and other persons present. Wissowa,<sup>7</sup> in treating the setting aside of the viscera for profane use, cites the following passages: Plaut., *Mil.*, 711: *sacrificant, dant inde partem mihi maiorem quam sibi, / abducunt ad exta*. Cato, *Agr.*, 50: *ubi daps profanata comestaque erit*. Serv. on *Aen.*, I, 211: *viscera non tantum intestina dicimus, sed quicquid sub corio est, ut in Albano Latinis visceratio dabatur, id est caro*. VI, 253: *viscera sunt quicquid inter ossa et cutem est*. The viscera then would include, among other parts, the ribs, and if we accept the equivalence of *vatuva* with L. *latera*, or more specifically with an adjective in *-u-* or *-uo-* corresponding to *latera*, the formula may mean that those portions not presented to the god, and especially the choice parts about the ribs, are to be put on some sort of tray for further disposition.<sup>8</sup> The *vatuva* are never heard of subsequently, since the word does not occur except in the formula cited at the beginning of this article. One final difficulty is that *fetu* is generally used as equivalent to *facito* in its special ritualistic sense 'sacrifice, offer,' while *perstu*, *peperscust* is used in four passages as a verb of placing. Yet it seems not unduly bold to assign to *fetu* a range of meaning wide enough to include 'place, put,' especially in view of its close etymological connection with *τίθημι*, Skt. *dadhāmi*.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. Umbrian *subocau suboco*.

The formula *subocau suboco* occurs in Iguvine Tables VI a 22, 24, 24-5, b 6, 8 (twice), 26, 27 (twice), each occurrence being

<sup>7</sup> *Religion und Kultus der Römer*<sup>2</sup>, p. 419.

<sup>8</sup> The existence of the noun *spantim* III 33, *spanti* 34, IV 3, adj. *spantea* II a 30, all meaning 'side,' is no real obstacle to our interpretation of *vatuva uatuo*, since the former words have reference to the side of an altar.

<sup>9</sup> E. Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte*, I (Heidelberg, 1953), pp. 171-2, translates 'testiculos (?)', perhaps rightly, since this interpretation would account for the fact that the formula occurs only where male victims are being offered; but he offers no etymology for *vatuva*, nor does he cite any parallel from Roman or Greek ritual for the disposition of the genitalia of sacrificial victims.

in the preamble to a prayer to Jupiter Grabovius or to Fisovius Sancius or to Tefer Jovius. *subocau* also occurs alone in VI a 34, 44, 55, b 15 (twice), 36, VII a 20 (twice), 22, 23, 33, 34, 36 (twice), the forms in Table VII being regularly spelled *subocauu*. The instances of *subocau(u)* without *suboco* are in the concluding portions of the prayers to the same deities mentioned above, and also (in VII) to Prestota Šerfia of Šerfus Martius. *suboco* never occurs without a preceding *subocau*.

The problem in the case of *subocau(u)* is to ascertain its tense (for it cannot reasonably be taken otherwise than as a verb) and, in the case of *suboco*, to ascertain first whether it is a verb and, if so, what is its tense, or, if it is not a finite verb, to what class of nominal forms it belongs. *Subocau(u)* taken as a present first singular form receives support from *stahu*; <sup>10</sup> both may be derived from *-āyō*, notwithstanding the fact that the forms of *stahu* in general belong to the fourth rather than to the first conjugation. On the other hand it would be extremely difficult to analyze *subocau(u)* as a perfect, not only because the final *u* in the spelling *subocauu* could not then be satisfactorily explained,<sup>11</sup> but also because if we regard the form as perfect, it must be a *v*-perfect, and the evidence for this formation in the Italic dialects is very unreliable.<sup>12</sup>

The ground for regarding *suboco* as a verbal form is the easily understandable objection to admitting a nominal form after instead of before the principal verb. Yet it is difficult to analyze it as a verb. If *subocau(u)* is present, then *suboco*, if it is a verb, must be perfect. So Devoto treats it.<sup>13</sup> But if *subocau* is

<sup>10</sup> On a minor Umbrian inscription from Assisi, no. 355 Conway = 296 von Planta = 84 Buck.

<sup>11</sup> Osc. *manafum*, cited as a parallel in von Planta, II, p. 359, occurs in the Curse of Vibia (native alphabet); hence *-um* may and probably does stand for *-om*, but the final *u* in *subocau(u)* taken as a perfect is not so easily accounted for, despite von Planta's attempt at an explanation, II, p. 363.

<sup>12</sup> The *v*-perfect is admitted by von Planta, II, pp. 354-7, but in effect denied by Buck, § 222.

<sup>13</sup> *Tabulae Iguvinae* (Rome, 1937), p. 186. He does not admit connection of *subocau suboco* with L. *vocare*, on the ground that the labiovelar should yield *p* in Umbrian, and he uses *vepurus* (native alphabet) as support for his view. But it is difficult to accept his connection of *vepurus* with Gk. ἔπος (p. 407), because the medial vowel would in all probability have been syncopated, giving *\*vepsufs* > *\*vesus*.

a denominative (< \**sub-wokā-*) like L. *vocare*, it is unlikely that the *a* would fail to be maintained through all the tense systems.

Buck, § 279 and p. 303, takes *suboco* as a neuter noun and translates 'invocationes,' making a cognate acc. pl., and compares Cato, *Agr.*, 134: *te bonas preces precor*. The form analyzed in this way is presumably an *o*-stem, but *o*-stems of this root are extremely rare and late in Latin.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand a neuter root-stem with abstract sense, in contrast to L. *vox* fem., is quite improbable.

The solution proposed here is to regard *suboco* as possibly an acc. sg. masc. root-stem with passive sense similar to that in L. *redux*, *coniunx*, *incus*, *obiex*, *subices*, *obses*, Gk. διῶρνξ, καταπρήξ, σύζυξ.<sup>15</sup> The sense would then be roughly 'thee I invoke (as) the one invoked.' If the expression appears tautological and somewhat strained, the fondness of Umbrian, as well as of early Latin, for the *figura etymologica* must not be overlooked.<sup>16</sup> *suboco* may be an ancient epithet of deities here preserved in an alliterative formula. Interpreted in this way it would have a close semantic parallel in the Germanic words for *deity*, both pagan and Christian, for Goth. *gub*, OIcel. *gof*, OHG *got*, OE *god* are probably in origin passive participles of \*ǵhau-, ǵhauθ- 'call, invoke.'<sup>17</sup> The fact that the verb *subocau* precedes *suboco* has been mentioned as an obstacle to the interpretation of *suboco* as a noun, since in Umbrian as in Latin the verb is normally placed at the end of its clause. Yet in the present formula we actually have the name of the deity placed after the verb, for *Dei Graboui* in VI a 23, *Fisoui San̄si* in b 6, and *Tefro Ioui* in

I therefore prefer to follow the older interpretation of *vepurus* as roughly equivalent to ἀ-πίρως and to explain the *c* of *subocau*, like the *c* for *q* in L. *vocis*, *vocare*, etc., as the result of levelling from forms where the labiovelar stood before consonants and hence lost its labialization.

<sup>14</sup> First in Mart. Cap., IV, 339 (Eyssenhardt), where we find *aequivocum*, *plurivocum*, *univocum*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Leumann-Hofmann, p. 200; Schwyzler, I, p. 425.

<sup>16</sup> Umbrian examples include *praco pracatarum*, *stahmei stahmeitei*, *uestisia uesticos*, *pacer pase*. Latin examples include *servitutem servire* and *preces precor*.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Walde-Pokorny<sup>2</sup>, p. 413, where Skt. *puruhūtaḥ* 'viel angerufen,' as epithet of Indra, is also included.

b 27 can only be accusatives in apposition with *t(e)io* and must be in the same sentence with the words preceding. Possibly the natural word order would be \**teio subocau Dei Graboui suboco* 'thee I invoke Jupiter Grabovius (as) the one invoked,' *suboco* being placed before the deity's name for the sake of the *figura etymologica*.

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### PLATO'S HOMER.

*L'Homère de Platon* by Jules Labarbe (1949) was published too late for use in the preparation of my *Ilias Atheniensium* (1950). It is an impressive volume; and if I ever prepare a revised edition of my *Ilias*, I shall study it to see if I can find reason for some changes in the wording of its text. That will be, if at all, far in the future. Meanwhile I will take note of another problem, less extensive but more important—the question of the *numerus versuum*.

Thus my interest in Plato is at the moment strictly limited. What I am seeking to learn from him is the *numerus versuum* in the 5/4th century manuscript(s) that he used. For this Plato is—naturally enough—a bad witness. He had, of course, no interest in broadcasting such information. He does not testify often; and when he is on the stand, he sometimes leaves us uninformed on this point, or at least without information definite enough to be utilized by an editor of Homer.

Labarbe's treatment of the problem rests on a postulate which he does not state. Such procedure is always dangerous. The risk is that one may fall himself—and lead others—into the trap of believing that what he has asked to be conceded without proof has been established by some proof or other.

I will state the postulate: bar one inherited haplographic blunder (*saute du même au même*) Plato's manuscript(s) of the *Iliad* agreed line for line with Aristarchus. Some may fancy that I should say with the medieval manuscripts. That would be a fault, cf. the quotation from Wilamowitz in *Ext. Ev.* 42, and for the general principle, the clear statement in P. Maas, *Textkritik*<sup>2</sup> (1950), p. 14: "während doch 100 Handschriften,



die auf eine zurückgehen, weniger Gewicht haben als diese eine, und nicht mehr Gewicht haben als eine die nicht auf jene eine zurückgeht." I would not be justified in imputing that fault to Labarbe without a more extended study of his work than I have time to make.

Among the passages to be considered I take up first those about which two and only two things are known: each was in the edition of Aristarchus, and it is not in Plato.

Plato paraphrases A29, 30, 32. Labarbe is (p. 357) of the opinion that Plato chose to say nothing of verse 31. It is obvious that Plato had no choice in the matter unless line 31 was before him. Of that there is not the slightest indication.

Plato quotes I, 308-10, 312 f. Labarbe (pp. 50-3) pushes the cause of the omission further back. If a forebear of Plato's MS read:

310 ὥσπερ δὴ κρανέω τε κτλ. (as Plato quotes)

311 ὥς μὴ μοι τρύζητε κτλ. (as Aristarchus reads)

there would have been a temptation to haplography—and a corrupt text could have reached Plato. There is the same trouble here: there is no indication of the existence of I, 311 at the time assumed.

Plato quotes I, 496-7, 499-501. Labarbe (p. 150) explains that Plato has chosen to omit line 498. Again it is a mere assumption that the line was before Plato to give him a choice in the matter.

There are a couple of places in which the known facts are more: a line is in Aristarchus; it is not visible in Plato; Plato has something else (more or less) equivalent.

Ω 528 (Labarbe, pp. 274-81) is the simpler of the two. Aristarchus read:

527 δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει

528 δώρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐάων.

For the second line Plato reads:

κηρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν.

Labarbe accepts the fact of the variant reading, and that (not what is to be done with it) is all that is of concern at present.

With Ξ 293 begins a scene which Plato condemns as unsuit-

able for a young man to hear. His final objection is to the putting into the mouth of Zeus a couplet addressed to Hera. It is not quoted, but paraphrased. Put back into the poetic form it reads:

οὐδ' ὅτε τὸ πρῶτόν περ ἐμοσγόμεθ' ἐν φιλότῃτι  
εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας.

The couplet is not in Aristarchus, so there is not here line by line agreement between him and Plato. The least possible divergence will be secured by assuming that in Plato's manuscript the couplet stood before  $\Xi$  328. Thirty years ago I saw that and could not see a possibility of going farther. Since then I have learned to see better, but that is not relevant to the present discussion. Labarbe meets the situation by finding in Plato "un certain nombre de bévues" (p. 395), each of which seems an illusion.

I turn now to places in the *Iliad* of which Plato speaks without giving usable information about the *numerus versuum* in his manuscript(s). Thirty years ago I examined them to see what, if anything, could be learned from them. The results reached can be judged best from my edition. A23, Γ 8-9 ( $\Delta$  421-2),  $\Delta$  218-9, Z 402-3, X 16-19 are all in my text without mention of Plato in the commentary;  $\Lambda$  [515] is judged a plus verse on other evidence, and nothing is said about Plato. Another verse,  $\Xi$  [95], is to be judged a plus verse on internal as well as on external evidence. Plato is of interest only as showing the date of its intrusion. I say that perhaps (*fortasse*) it was not in Plato's manuscripts.

I may mention another place, though the matter is not at present germane. In Aristarchus there is a long plus passage,  $\Pi$  [432-58], from which Plato quotes lines 433-4, thus giving a terminus ante quem for the insertion.

Then τὰ συμβαίνοντα and the postulate do not fit together. Plato and Aristarchus are not in perfect agreement. They are only in extensive agreement. The reason for the fact can be presented most briefly by the use of symbols and round numbers. For the *numerus versuum* the score in the *Iliad* is:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Plato} &= \Pi + x &&= 14,600 + x \\ \text{Aristarchus} &= \Pi + y &&= 14,600 + 1,000.\end{aligned}$$

The value of  $x$  can only be guessed at. However, it may, for various reasons, be assumed that  $x$  is much smaller than  $y$ ; and furthermore that a goodly majority of the  $x$ 's will appear among the  $y$ 's of Aristarchus. It follows that when Plato chooses to speak of the *Iliad*, he will much more probably (odds nearly 40:1) talk of some of the 14,600 verses inherited from  $\Pi$ , than of the (say) 300 or 400 other verses that have got into his manuscript(s). Divergence between Plato and Aristarchus will be observable only when: (a) an  $x$  is not identical with a  $y$ ; and (b) when a  $y$  has got into a passage (usually from  $\Pi$ ) which Plato has quoted.

I have cut the argument to the quick, disregarding side issues and speaking of others as briefly as possible. If I get to a revised edition, the *numerus versuum* may change, but not as a result of *L'Homère de Platon*.

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## REVIEWS.

GAETANO DE SANCTIS. *Storia dei Romani*. Volume IV: La Fondazione dell'Impero. Parte II: Vita e pensiero nell'età delle grandi conquiste, Tomo I, Text. Firenze, "*La Nuova Italia*," 1953. Pp. xii + 376. 3500 lire.

When in 1923 De Sanctis published the first part of the fourth volume of his great *Storia dei Romani*, he dedicated it "a quei pochissimi che hanno parimente a sdegno di essere oppressi e di farsi oppressori." His own scorn of oppression was revealed in 1931, when, as Professor of Greek History at the University of Rome, he joined the group of Italian University professors who refused to take the oath demanded of them by the Fascist authorities. As a result he went into retirement, but, as President of the Pontifical Academy of Archaeology and as editor of the *Rivista di Filologia*, he maintained an active association with Italian classical studies. During these years, unable, he is quoted as saying, to go on with his Roman history, he returned to Greek history, in which he had won his first laurels, publishing his *Storia dei Greci* in 1939 and his *Pericle* in 1944. The end of the war brought him back to the forefront of Italian intellectual life. In spite of the loss of his eyesight he resumed his lectures at the University of Rome. He edited two supplementary volumes of the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, a remarkable achievement in current history.<sup>1</sup> He also returned to his history of Rome. Now after long delay, partly caused by the fact that his completed manuscript was lost in a stolen automobile, the first section of Volume IV, Part 2 has appeared. With this issue comes the welcome news that his earlier volumes, long out of print, are to be reprinted.

The new section of the Roman history may be a disappointment to those who, remembering the author's masterly treatment of politics, of the constitution, and of military history, look for a continuance of the story from the Battle of Pydna, where he left off, to the climax of the events in Volumes III and IV, the fall of Carthage and of Corinth. But De Sanctis is not less a master of cultural history, the subject with which this volume deals. It gives us only half the material planned on *Vita e pensiero nell'età delle grandi conquiste*; there will be a second section, on law, economics, and finance, which, it is reliably reported, is now ready for the press.

The subject of this section is literature, art, and religion. De Sanctis evaluates the effect of contact with the Greeks and the strength and weakness of native elements in Roman culture. On literature De Sanctis has, as he states (p. 2), altered his point of view; he no longer insists, as he did in 1907, that imitation of Greek

<sup>1</sup> A bibliography of De Sanctis' extensive publications, including his reviews, is to be found in the collection of his essays on Greek historiography, published for his eightieth birthday by his students, colleagues, and friends: *Studi di Storia della Storiografia greca* (Florence, 1951), pp. 173-94.

literature was harmful, particularly to the development of imaginative native poetry. Instead, he emphasizes the success of the Romans in adopting Greek and Hellenistic traditions in poetry, and in creating a literature and a literary language of their own. Naevius is represented as a man of great originality, who, under the new influences, maintained native Roman traditions both in his epic and in his drama. If Naevius was, as Rowell, who is quoted, has held, a Campanian of Capua, he belonged, De Sanctis thinks, to a family which had not half, but full citizen rights; only as a full citizen could Naevius have been bold enough to take a position in Roman factional politics in opposition to the Metelli and the great Scipio. He sees Naevius as the real successor of the anonymous poets of the banquet songs of which, in his revision of Niebuhr's theory, De Sanctis wrote in memorable terms in earlier volumes.<sup>2</sup> There is also a suggestion (p. 18), following Fraenkel, that Naevius may have been responsible for the development of *Cantica* in comedy. It is curious that there is no mention of the (to me very probable) theories of Lejay, Piganiol, and Boyancé that the *Cantica* were based on native Roman drama, the "dramatic satura" of Livy VII, 2.<sup>3</sup>

Not only the vividness of the language, but the music of the verse, in De Sanctis' opinion, places the twenty plays of Plautus "among the greatest masterpieces of comedy of all times." De Sanctis finds few specific allusions to events of the times and is skeptical about attempts to establish a chronology of the plays. But he writes eloquently of the drama of Plautus as a reflection of the vitality and crudity of the spectators, a people who lacked completely the *humanitas* which Menander shared with his Attic audience. Something of that *humanitas*, the author goes on to say, was brought to Rome by Ennius. The discussion of Ennius is not entirely sympathetic; there is a suggestion that, in spite of his all-important adaptation of the hexameter and in spite of his achievement in creating poetic diction, the influence of Ennius may not have been entirely beneficent; that he was perhaps more rhetorician (and an Asian at that) than poet, and that he widened the gulf between spoken and literary Latin. The spoken Latin of the new élite, which Ennius was largely responsible for creating, is, De Sanctis goes on, to be found in the plays of Terence, an author for whom De Sanctis has not less enthusiasm than for Plautus. He shares the admiration of Benedetto Croce for the play which was a failure at Rome, the *Hecyra*, described by De Sanctis as the most humane and the most modern comedy preserved from antiquity.

The slowness with which Greek influence made itself felt in prose is attributed (pp. 55 ff.) to the disposition of the Roman orators and historians, who were in general senators, to cling to native traditions, to maintain the vigorous speaking which had long been familiar in senatorial meetings and popular assemblies. Even in the *Origines*, De Sanctis thinks, Cato was little influenced by Greek style, though he doubtless used Greek sources, notably Timaeus in Books II and III. The discussion leads De Sanctis into an interesting evaluation of Hellenistic historiography.

<sup>2</sup> See I, pp. 22-6; II, pp. 500 f.; *passim* in discussions of early republican legends, for instance, II, pp. 109 ff. on Coriolanus and pp. 116 ff. on Cincinnatus.

<sup>3</sup> See Boyancé, *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, XXXIV (1932), pp. 11-25.

The most interesting section of the volume is the brief discussion (pp. 71-112) of the effect on Roman architecture and art of contact with Greek lands. The discussion is thoroughly up-to-date, with constant references to recent discoveries, including, for instance, those at the American excavations at Cosa. In architecture, De Sanctis holds, the Romans were moved by what they saw in Greek lands to beautify Rome and make it a rival of the great Hellenistic cities (that is, he suggests, the reason why so many temples were built in the third and second centuries), but they kept to native traditions or made original contributions when they adapted foreign architectural forms. Thus, although marble gradually replaced the terracotta decoration of earlier temples, the temple kept its ancient form, with high podium and accessibility only from the façade—features which emphasized the detachment of the human from the divine. When, in rivalry with the Greeks, the Romans built their baths, their porticoes, their basilicas, when they constructed their great utilitarian works, the aqueducts and the bridges, they showed originality in the use of the arch and the vault. There is a discussion of the independent arch, which in De Sanctis' view was derived not from the statue base, but from the entrance ways to squares and sacred areas. The author is at some pains to find out how the arch became a monument of the triumph, pointing out that the earliest arches were not of that character. But, as Huelsen showed long ago (*Festschrift Otto Hirschfeld* [Berlin, 1903], pp. 423-30), the term triumphal arch is a misnomer for the monumental arches of Rome.

In sculpture and painting, where Greek traditions had long been familiar, De Sanctis finds less originality than in architecture. Until the time of Augustus, he believes, Greek works of art which were brought to Rome and Greek artists who flocked to the capital exercised a check on the development of an art which was characteristically Roman. Only in portraiture was that not true, in De Sanctis' view; there, he holds, in contrast to other scholars, the Romans made their own contribution in the development of realism.

The chapter on religion, which, with voluminous footnotes, occupies two-thirds of the volume, supplementing, and often overlapping, discussions in earlier volumes, does not supply the need of a history of religion in the republic which, breaking away from the fascinating problems of origin and the specialized questions arising from sporadic evidence, describes in general terms the beliefs of the people. But for the third and second centuries this discussion provides significant material for such a history.

In the detailed treatment of individual gods De Sanctis, rejecting as invalid for this period Wissowa's classification of native and foreign gods,<sup>4</sup> takes up first the twelve great gods of Greece, discussing their identification with Roman divinities and the adoption of Greek myths, and then three gods who are hardly known outside Rome, Quirinus, Janus, Saturn, all of whom acquired legends which represented them as one time mortals (pp. 201-19). Janus Geminus is explained as the northern door of the Forum, a passage-way of armies which could not be closed until the armies returned on the conclusion of peace. Saturn is interpreted as an old Latin agricul-

<sup>4</sup> De Sanctis notes (p. 121, n. 1) that his judgment of Wissowa was shocking in 1907, but is widely accepted today.



tural god, and the idea that his cult was hellenized in 217 is rejected; what happened then was the extension of his festival from the country to the city, a measure designed to distract the people in a time of danger; the custom of sacrificing to Saturn with uncovered head is explained as a survival of an ancient form of sacrifice which goes back to a time before Roman priests had established the Roman rite of sacrificing with covered head. In general, De Sanctis is suspicious of the traditions of the *Graecus ritus* and of the attribution to the *decemviri sacris faciendis* of functions limited to that *ritus*; they were, he thinks, concerned with foreign innovations of every type. The discussion covers every god known in the Roman pantheon in the third and second centuries; there is much emphasis on contemporary evidence from coins and temple foundations.

There is a valuable treatment of *obnuntiatio* (pp. 351 ff.) and of the use the nobles made of the augurs in politics. There is a protest (pp. 353 ff.) against the general view that the power of the pontificate declined in the second century. The increased use of Etruscan *haruspices* in a period when Etruscan power had declined is attributed to the popular desire to understand why the gods gave signs of dissatisfaction, and the decision of the senate to have recourse not to oracles, but to the pseudo-scientific methods represented by the *haruspices*.

It is primarily in the discussion of the various means taken to insure the *pax deorum*, expiation of prodigies, *feriae* and *ludi*, special rites and sacrifices, even human sacrifices (which in De Sanctis' view [pp. 319 ff.] were not foreign to Rome), that the author considers particularly the religious belief of the Romans. He thinks that nobles like Fabius Cunctator, Scipio, and Cato really believed in the gods and that there was enough faith among the people to call for vigorous measures when the gods were thought to be adverse.

Roman religion did not, De Sanctis holds, show the vitality and the progress under foreign contacts which are to be found in Roman poetry and architecture. It was not that the Romans were conservative in religious matters; rather they were innovators, readily admitting new gods to their pantheon, new rites and ceremonies to their cult; moreover they constantly identified their gods with Greek gods and, without destroying their native character, enriched them with the mythology of Greece. The trouble, as De Sanctis sees it, was with the essential character of Roman religion, which affected new gods and new rites; it was a utilitarian religion, based on the *do ut des* formula, a religion without the elements of love and faith that characterize the really vital religions of the world, a religion which was so inextricably bound up with the state that it tended to lose its hold on the people when the constitution broke down.

This volume is in the great tradition of the *Storia dei Romani*. The section on art and architecture is as vivid writing as one finds anywhere in the earlier volumes. And throughout there is the sureness of knowledge, the range, the originality, and the understanding of man and his experience that the very name of Gaetano De Sanctis connotes.

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ADOLF BERGER. *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*. Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1953. \$7.00 (cloth) or \$5.00 (paper). (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N. S., XLIII, Part 2, pp. 333-808.)

Despite our law schools' neglect of Roman law—this reviewer discovered in 1949 that only ten of the nation's 170 law schools offered courses in Roman law (nine optional, one required; five at post-graduate level, five for undergraduates)—this informative and invaluable work is commended to their librarians and professors and students; and not only to these, but also to all legal scholars, philosophical jurists, scholarly lawyers. And beyond this professional circle this encyclopaedia should attract the attention of all classicists and historians who know enough about Latin and Greek and ancient history to realize that the Romans' achievement in jurisprudence was the outstanding particular contribution of Rome to the cultural evolution of mankind. Nor must be omitted inclusion of the Roman Catholic clergy, who live under canon law, which, among the major masterworks of the mediaeval mind, is largely a Christianized interpretation of Roman law and still is read in Latin, a language not yet too dead for living use!

For the subject has superior claims: (1) Roman jurisprudence has the longest known history of any set of human institutions whose obligations are enforceable and are enforced; (2) more than one third and almost one half of the human household of the civilized world live under either pure or blended Roman law; (3) for centuries the science of law, which we call jurisprudence, was Roman law, wherein we find, at its crowning culmination in Justinian's grand codification of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, universal and underlying principles of jurisprudence for application on an oecumenical scale.

In both compass and treatment this dictionary surpasses such other standard lexicons of law designed for English readers as Baldwin, Black, Bouvier-Baldwin, Byrne, whose attention to Roman law leaves much to be desired, for these authors apparently had neither so competent a knowledge of Roman law nor the space to devote to definitions as has the compiler of the encyclopaedia under review. It explains the technical terms of Roman law, translates and elucidates the Latin words and phrases which carry a specific connotation in a juristic context, provides a short and almost always adequate sketch of Roman legal institutions and sources. Especially successful is the editor's survey of the various parts—to name only private, public, administrative, criminal, sacred, military—of the vast province of Roman law by taking terms from nonjuristic sources, such as literature, inscriptions, papyri, and grammar. Nor are neglected mediaeval and modern mints, whence are garnered the newer coins which have gained currency among civilians. The more important entries are treated historically, so that the substantial changes from archaic through classical to mediaeval (at least through Justinian's period) law are recorded. Cross-references indicate complementary and comparative matter.

Besides specialized bibliographical references appended to individual entries, a notable feature of Berger's bibliographical appa-

ratus is an appendix of some 1,400 items systematically organized in a score of sections, which cover such areas as textbooks and general presentations of the fields of Roman law, editions of the sources, problems connected with the development of Roman law (foreign influences, imperial policies, Christianity), Roman law and modern legal systems, Roman law and the Anglo-American world, Roman law in nonjuristic sources, the place of Roman law in legal education. These items are culled from articles in encyclopaedias, papers in periodicals, essays in *Festschriften*, proceedings of congresses, and include books and monographs. Finally there is a selected English-Latin glossary to benefit readers who have little or no acquaintance with Latin legal terminology.

But one is disappointed to discover in what may be the only compilation of its character in our century—for of such sylloges on such subjects one may say *eius modi lexica vix singula singulis saeculis nascuntur*—sins of omission as well as of commission, because the compiler's reputation as a civilian *nulli secundus* preceded his arrival in the United States (where he is professor in the City College of New York and in the French University [École Libre des Hautes Études] in New York City) and encouraged one to expect, when word of his project was circulated, that at long last we should see an egregious exception to the doctrine of the inseparability of difficulties from initial attempts.

To take only a few instances: In the English-Latin section Berger might have expanded his entry "Governor of a province. *Praeses (rector) provinciae*" by adding \**administer*, \**administrans*, \**administrator*, \**archon*, \**cognitor*, \**cognitor ordinarius*, \**consularis*, \**corrector*, \**dikastes*, \**eparchus*, \**hegemon*, \**iudex*, \**iudex ordinarius*, \**moderator*, \**praefectus*, \**praesidens*, \**proconsul*, \**propraetor*, \**prostates*, \**strategus*—not to mention various circumlocutions and transliterations. But what do we find in the Latin-English section? The asterisked synonyms are omitted; the entry under *administrare* never would suggest the first three titles listed; the explanation of *cognitor* and of *iudex* fails to explain that each was also a governor. And somewhere among his cross-references could have been a note explaining that the variety of these titles arises from historical origins and also is connected with a governorship's importance and with a province's size.

Also among officials one misses *alytarcha*, *asiarcha*, *catholicus*, *comarchus*, *cosmetes*, *edictus*, *ephorus*, *epistrategus*, *proquaestor*, *prytanis*, *quadriarius*, *tesserarius*; among constitutional and territorial units there is no place for *commune Asiae*, *megapolis*, *metronomia*, *metropolis*, *nomos*; and the list of various kinds of *ager* should include *ager censorius* and *ager patritus*.

Among the later collections of laws no entry occurs for the *Brachylogus*, a 12th-century compilation containing a systematic exposition of the later law and based on Justinian's *Institutes*, though drawn partly from other parts of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.

One misses entries on *concilium* and *synodus*, for it is well known that the canons of these Christian conclaves often were incorporated in imperial legislation and were enforced by emperors. Surely a listing of Christian clerics and classes demands more than entries on *clericus*, *episcopus*, *monachus*, *oeconomicus ecclesiae*, *sacerdos*, *sanctimonialis*, and a mere translation of *archiepiscopus*, and inadequate

articles on *vidua* and *virgo* (where are the *virgines subintroductae*?), for no mention is made of *antistes*, *archimandrites*, *chorepiscopus*, *circuator*, *defensor ecclesiae*, *diaconus*, *diaconissa*, *exarchus*, *hegumenus*, *hiereus*, *metropolitanus*, *papa*, *patriarcha*, *presbyter*, *visitator*—not to name those in minor orders or the notorious rabble-rousing *parabalani*, controlled by St. Cyril of Alexandria (*Cod. Theod.*, XVI, 2, 42, 43)—of whom all played important parts in and were subjects of imperial legislation. And when we look for the Christian *piae causae*, we find only *xenodochium* but not *brephotrophium*, *gerontocomium*, *nosocomium*, *orphanotrophium*, although these excluded four loom just as large in Justinian's laws.

While he gives some imperial titles, Berger omits *Felix*, *Inclitus*, *Invictus*, *Pius*, *Victor*. Since we find *damnatio memoriae* expanded to include emperors, why is there not an entry for its frequent companion *rescissio actorum*, for which no place is found even under *rescindere*?

In Berger's treatment of coins—among which didrachm, follis, miliarensis, quadrans, quadrigatus, talentum, victoriatus, and Greek coins are conspicuous by absence—he might have attempted their approximate value to give the reader some idea of their worth. The entries on *as* and *denarius* leave much to be desired.

Why is such a character—to name only one—as Papirius Fronto, whom Berger brands "a little known Roman jurist of the late second post-Christian century," included, when is omitted such a legal light as Jacobus Gothofredus (1582-1652), philologist, historian, jurist, "founder of modern Theodosian scholarship" (Pharr), whose "historico-legal commentary on the *Codex Theodosianus* is recognized as a book of high scholarly value, even from the standpoint of present-day Romanistics" (Wolff)?

On p. 620, *s. v. patres conscripti*, Berger admits plebeians to the Roman Senate "about the middle of the fourth century B.C.," but on p. 694, *s. v. senatores*, he thinks that they were admitted "probably at the beginning of the Republic"—which would be at least 150 years earlier.

On p. 471 *fideipromissio* and *fideipromissor* should have the second "i" deleted, as he correctly spells these words on pp. 350, 351, *s. v. adpromissio*. Berger also varies between "free born" and "free-born" and "freeborn." On p. 699, *s. v. senatus consultum ultimum*, "P. M. Scaevola" in many purists' opinion must be infelicitous for "P. Mucius Scaevola."

In his General Bibliography, on p. 786 (col. 2, *ad fin.*), Berger gives W. A. Hunter's *Introduction to Roman Law*, 9th ed. (London, 1934), a slight manual of 228 pages, but unaccountably neglects the same author's unabridged *A Systematic and Historical Exposition of Roman Law in the Order of a Code*, 4th ed. (London, 1903), a tome of 1,134 pages and infinitely more instructive.

*Sed satis superque*. If space permitted, one could list other minor lapses, which, while they can mislead the neophyte and the non-specialist, yet can be corrected swiftly by any competent civilian and scholar. But after several months of almost daily consultation, this reviewer believes that Berger's book embodies an enormous amount of erudition and a rich accumulation of material and that—despite an incredible carelessness in details, some shortcomings and in-

adequacies, erratic methodology—in general it is reliable and it is unquestionably both the best and the fullest and the most valuable volume of the kind in English.

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HILDING THYLANDER. *Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie. Volume I* (text). Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1952. Pp. xxiii + 562. Volume II (plates). *Ibid.*, 1951. 125 plates; 6 plans. Sw. Crs. 75. (*Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom*, IV, 1-2.)

HILDING THYLANDER. *Étude sur l'épigraphie latine*. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1952. Pp. xvi + 191; 6 plans. Sw. Crs. 25. (*Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom*, V.)

The excavations of the cemetery of Portus in Isola Sacra by the late Guido Calza in the years 1930 and 1938 brought to light over 280 inscriptions which, in contrast to the earlier discoveries of 1925, could not be incorporated by L. Wickert in his supplement to *C. I. L.*, XIV. A little more than a hundred of them were published in a rather preliminary way by Calza himself in his book *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell'Isola Sacra* (Rome, 1940), the others remained inedited, in the expectation of a new supplement in which they would be published together with the numerous epigraphical findings which had been made in Ostia since the appearance of *C. I. L.*, XIV, S. I.

Hilding Thylander, who started out in 1936 with a study on the funeral inscriptions of the ports of ancient Italy, has presented us now instead with a lavishly produced edition of all inscriptions of Portus and a study on problems of the dating of Latin inscriptions and of Roman nomenclature which, to a large extent, is based on the inscriptions of Portus and Ostia.

The decision to re-edit all inscriptions of Portus (almost 750) involved the task of republishing *ca.* 390 inscriptions already found in *C. I. L.*, XIV. But completeness apparently was the goal of the author: hence the great number (nearly sixty) inedited fragments of very little value which he included in his collection, e.g., from the notes of Giovanni Battista de Rossi. All the more desirable would it have been then not to exclude the Greek inscriptions of Portus and Isola Sacra. Their omission was entirely justified in the *C. I. L.* as they were to be published in the corresponding volume of the Greek Corpus, *I. G.*, XIV; it does not seem to be justified in a special edition of the inscriptions of *one* place, like the one under review. One misses above all the Greek inscriptions from Isola Sacra, such as the bust of C. Volcacius Myropnus (Calza, *La necropoli*, pp. 225-8), the inscription of the herm of Hippocrates (G. Becatti, "Il ritratto di Ippocrate," *Rend. Pont. Acc. di Arch.*, XXI [1944-45], pp. 123-41), and the mosaic of tomb 43 (Calza, *La necropoli*, pp. 169-70; cf. my remarks *A. J. A.*, XLVIII [1944], p. 215). On the other hand, the Greek inscription of Iulia Procula has been reproduced (A 158).



The enormous preponderance of funeral inscriptions induced Thylander, in organizing his volume, to reverse the order observed in the *C. I. L.* and to present the funeral inscriptions first. The entire material is divided into two sections of similar bulk: inscriptions found at the left of the canal of Trajan, i. e. in Isola Sacra (A 1-353) and those found at the right of this borderline, in Portus proper (B 1-394). Among the indices which conclude the volume the *index verborum* stands out as particularly helpful. The two parts of which the book consists are quite unequal in value, not only because of the fact that most of the inscriptions from Isola Sacra are not yet in the *C. I. L.* or are altogether new, whereas most of the other group are available in usually final editions in *C. I. L.*, XIV, but because the author has bestowed much more care on the first section than on the second. This is in a way fortunate since we were in need of an edition of the inscriptions of Isola Sacra, but not of a new edition of the inscriptions of Portus.

Thylander has in many instances improved on the texts published since the appearance of *C. I. L.*, XIV; I mention in particular A 5, 19, 25, 30, 47, 59, 60, 90, 94, 134, 178, 184, 240, 251. He recognized in the fragment A 289 a second copy of A 277 and rightly referred to the analogy of A 268-9 (still *in situ*). In commenting on the inedited inscription A 256, he points out the coexistence of burial and cremation as provided for by the three owners of this tomb (no. 102). There are of course many other valuable comments, but the greatest asset of the edition is the rich collection of over 400 photographs with which it is equipped and which illustrate more than half of the inscriptions, with the emphasis again on the material from Isola Sacra (pls. I-XCII; Portus: pls. XCIII-CXXV). In addition, the author, wherever possible, provided the measurements of the inscriptions and indications of the size of letters as well as a translation.

While these features are gratifying improvements over the *C. I. L.*, the volume as a whole would have greatly benefited from a closer adherence to the sound editorial practices of the *C. I. L.* There surely was a way to avoid, especially in the second part, defects such as follow: occasionally, the whole inscription is wrongly lined up (B 192, 342, 343); lacunae are not indicated at all or not indicated correctly (A 67, B 82, 295, 328); fragmentary letters are often skipped or bracketed (A 89, 108, 202, 243, B 10); the description of all decorative detail, like leaves, wreaths, divisional lines has been omitted (B 39, 288, 289, 307, 321, 331, 334); conversely, faulty readings which Dessau had wisely passed over are resurrected (B 323, 345). Most of the grammatical comments could have been conveniently assembled in an appropriate index of the kind of *C. I. L.*, XIV, pp. 586-92, an index which would have been particularly welcome, in view of the nature of the material. Instead of this customary method, the grammatical remarks are inserted among the comments to individual inscriptions. B 337 = *C. I. L.*, XIV (henceforth simply referred to as XIV), 169; cf. 168!; B 339 = XIV, 409 (cf. Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 6146); and B 304 = XIV, 47 are from Ostia and do not belong in the volume.

It may be allowed to suggest some specific corrections:

A 7 was first inscribed as follows: *D(is) m(anibus) / Aeliae Clem-  
[entinae ?] / quae vixit a[nn ...] / m(ensibus) VIII d(iebus)....*



Her father as an afterthought added at left F·CLEM· / AVG·LIB / PATER· which means *f(ecit)* — not *F(lavius)* — *Clem(ens) Aug(usti) lib(ertus) pater*. He was of course a freedman of Hadrian or Pius. For the unusual position of *f(ecit)* cf., e. g., A 162: *Iunia Chelidoni*, etc. *fecit C. Iulius Iulianus*.

A 196, line 3: between *quibus* and *ius possidendi* the word *id(em)* is omitted.

A 348: all references to explain this inscription are taken from A. J. A., XLVIII (1944), p. 216.

A 352, no. 18: C. Statius Capito (Arrianus?) has been confused with the historian Flavius Arrianus. He is *not* mentioned in brick-stamps of 117/18 (B 386, no. 14).

B 88, line 4: read QVI·VIXIT with XIV, 1153 against Thylander's Q·VIXIT. He does not mention, in contrast to Dessau, that in the last line originally was written H·M·H·N·S which is still legible in part in the photograph, pl. CIII, 1.

B 194, line 3: Thylander reads [...]XIT ANN II; I read in pl. CXV, 2 ....AE TYRANNIDI, the dative of a female name.

B 290: the second line of this inscription (XIV, 14) has been omitted.

B 314 = XIV, 90: part of this inscription has been published again as B 358.

B 318 = XIV, 102: dedication to Marcus Aurelius who is given the titles IMP. and AVG.; his father is unquestionably referred to as *divus*. Of the number of his *trib(unicia) pot(estas)* only X is preserved. No lacuna within the number is indicated by Thylander who consequently dates the inscription in 156 (repeated in *Étude*, p. 5), whereas it cannot be earlier than 161 (cf. also XIV, p. 548).

B 319 = XIV, 110 is dated VII *id(us)* / [(the name of the month is lost) *imp. (?) Com]modo Aug(usto) V cos.*, that is "on the seventh day before the ides of an unknown month of the year in which Commodus was consul for the fifth time," which is the year 186 according to Mommsen and Dessau and everyone else; Thylander, however, suggests 186-89 here and in his methodological study (*Étude*, p. 5) on the ground that *Aug. V cos.* is written instead of *Aug. cos. V*, an argument which, aside from everything else, is utterly untenable; cf. *I. L. S.*, 3913, 2667, 5433, 9363.

B 338 = XIV, 170: when it is certain that in the date, line 2 (*dominis nostris*) / [the name of the month is lost] *Aug(ustis) cos.* the word *Philippis* has been erased (Dessau, *loc. cit.*, and *I. L. S.*, 1433; Stein, *R.-E.*, XVI [1933], p. 902, and *Die Praefekten von Aegypten* [1950], p. 145), why not say so at least in the commentary or translation if not in the text?

B 386-94: in his list of brick-stamps from Portus, Thylander unfortunately overlooked those found by this reviewer *in situ* in the Porticus of Claudius and in the "Magazzini di Marco Aurelio" (*I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana* [1947], chapters 10 and 26, pp. 99-100; 279-80).

One leaves the second part of the volume with the feeling that it would have been better not to reprint at all the inscriptions from Portus already so well published in *C.I.L.*, XIV, but rather to give additions to them in the manner of Wickert's *Volumini XIV Addenda* in *C.I.L.*, XIV, S. I, pp. 612-16. The valuable indices still could have taken into account the inscriptions from Portus as well as those from Isola Sacra. As matters stand, the user of this new edition would do well also to consult *C.I.L.*, XIV for any inscription published there.

In the companion volume the first section on the dating of inscriptions largely deals with partly elementary and in general well-known facts. Useful on principle is, however, the discussion of the archaeological evidence, particularly in a site where many inscriptions still are in the original position in the walls which often can be dated independently (*Étude*, pp. 15-38). The second chapter on the Latin names adds to our knowledge of the nomenclature of freedmen and their descendants; especially noteworthy is his treatment of the choice of Greek or Latin cognomina for children of purely Latin, oriental (i. e. with Greek names), or mixed parentage: a general tendency toward giving preference to Latin names can be observed. In the final chapter on the relationship of names and the origin of their bearers, Thylander takes an even more radical view than Tenney Frank ("Race Mixture in the Roman Empire," *A. H. R.*, XXI [1916], pp. 689-708) in asserting that not only all persons with a Greek cognomen, but many of the others as well, were actually of oriental origin. Once one admits the equation Greek cognomen = oriental origin, Thylander's conclusion seems to be inescapable, in view of the undeniable propensity toward Latin cognomina among people with Greek names.

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JAMES H. OLIVER. *The Ruling Power: A Study of the Roman Empire in the Second Century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides*. Philadelphia, American Philological Society, 1953. \$2.00. (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N. S., XLIII, Part 4, pp. 869-1003.)

The *Roman Oration*, which expresses the gratitude of a provincial for the blessings of Roman government, would be somewhat more convincing if it had not been written by a sophist, an adept in panegyric; yet we need not challenge a sophist's fundamental sincerity just because he employs the exaggerated comparisons and highflown phraseology which he could hardly have avoided, given his training and the expectations of his audience. The discourse uniquely evidences the opinions of imperial rule held by a cultivated Greek, an Atticist, in the almost golden age of Antoninus Pius—or at least those opinions which he saw fit to proclaim on a rather special public occasion. Saul Levin anticipated Oliver by three years in publishing the first English translation of this speech, together with an introduction and a number of helpful notes, but his worthy

monograph,<sup>1</sup> purposely modest in scope and format, left much still to be investigated; how much, we can appreciate only now that Professor Oliver has given us a full-scale publication, so amply proportioned yet so minutely elaborated as to merit a place in the honored tradition of the "wissenschaftliche Kommentare." His rather lengthy title aptly describes the range of his work, for he has studied several broad problems tangential to the text, not content with revising, annotating, translating, and indexing it. Though there are, as always, occasional turns of phrasing which one would like to alter, and a few interpretations which may provoke disagreement, the treatise seems as nearly definitive as may be. Oliver's achievement is all the more remarkable because his Preface points to an inception earlier than 1950, when his solid *Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* appeared.

Chapters I and II discuss the oration as "literature" and as "evidence," respectively; Chapter III presents the translation and IV the commentary. Chapters V-VII deal with Plutarch's denunciation of the oppressive influence which the *prôtoi*, or local magnates, exerted on provincial government (*Political Precepts*, 19), and with the concept of the "common laws for all" which Aristides congratulates the Romans for having established. Next we find a thorough bibliography, then the revised Greek text and critical apparatus, whose odd position was dictated by editorial policy. One misses the customary listing of the *sigla*. It seems an exceptional practice to provide an *index verborum* for only a limited portion of a given author, but this one will prove useful because it records the relatively large number of textual emendations.

Chapters V-VII are of a supplementary nature, sufficiently independent to have been published separately. Since they are highly technical and based chiefly on epigraphical sources, I must leave their evaluation to specialists, simply noting my impression, not derived from this publication alone, that Oliver handles such materials with particular ease. On the other hand, it takes no specialist to discern at once the great value of the commentary, in which the work of earlier editors and translators is carefully sifted, every problem, however small, is honestly faced, and every new interpretation is seemingly backed with all of the evidence that can be mustered. An extraordinary wealth of literature, both primary and critical, was digested for the purposes of this commentary; and its general result, I believe, is to show that the *Roman Oration* is more richly and subtly allusive than anyone had previously suspected.

In Chapter I, Oliver develops for the first time the thesis that the speech is a "cosmological hymn and a hymn of praise for the ideal state," colored by study of Plato, especially the *Critias*, *Timaeus*, and *Laws*. The Roman Empire is an ideal state because it provides freedom, independence, and leisure for its citizens, and its hegemony is comparable to that which the Athenians of an idealized past exercised over the other Hellenes; the imperial government is viewed as a World-Soul which creates an orderly cosmos out of the Oikoumenê, or World-Body. Aristides pictures the emperor as a choregus who leads the whole civilized world in a harmonious rendi-

<sup>1</sup> ΕΙΣ ΡΩΜΗΝ: *To Rome, by Aelius Aristides* (Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1950).

tion of the ode of praise, and in certain technical features his epilogue resembles the finale of such a choral ode. Some readers will probably feel that both here and later Oliver tends to exaggerate the importance of these ideas. I think, however, that his main position is satisfactorily established, and it is inevitably a rather heavy-handed procedure to draw out every one of these slender conceptual threads that run through the fabric of the whole discourse.

This appears to be the most striking novelty, but there are many other interesting by-products of Oliver's inquiries, such as the demonstration that Aristides refers obliquely to "Amor" and "Flora," the ritual and hieratic names of Rome; the discovery that Dexippus, Fr. 12, Jacoby (from the *Suda*, s. v. *Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή*), imitates § 28 of the *Roman Oration*; and the ingenious explanation of how Aristides, in alluding to the capture of Thebes by Cambyses, probably did, *pace* Keil, rely upon Ctesias, but gave the story an original, pro-Egyptian interpretation.

Misprints are too rare and inconsequential to list, but perhaps I may note a few minor points at random. Other writers beside Aristides and Dio Chrysostom mention the children's game involving a "king" (§ 17); see *R.-E.*, s. v. "Basilinda," col. 99, and L. Grassberger, *Erziehung und Unterricht im klassischen Alterthum* (Wuerzburg, 1864), I, pp. 53-5. The commonplace that "a child's beauty was a terror to its parents" (§ 21), that is, under tyrannical rule, can be neatly paralleled by Juvenal, *Sat.*, 10, 295-7: . . . *filius autem corporis egregii miseros trepidosque parentes semper habet*. For the contrasting temperaments of dwellers in the plains and on the mountains (§ 30), a *locus classicus* is the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places*, 120-1. The thought that Dikê might be regarded as having returned to the earth under Roman rule (§ 106) may be original in its specific application, but I think that Aristides' substitution of Dikê for the Nemesis of *Works and Days*, 200 is not inspired solely by Plato's *Protagoras*; the bare notion of her descent to earth, which, as many have observed, does not appear in Hesiod, may reflect the Oriental or Hellenistic source of Virgil, *Ecl.*, 4, 6 (*iam redit et Virgo*). On this subject there is of course an extensive literature; see, for example, H. Jeanmaire, *La Sibylle et le retour de l'âge d'or* (Paris, 1939), pp. 1-47, giving references to the work of Norden, Carcopino, and others. And the idea has quite a history in later times; for instance, Julian claimed that Justitia had again descended during his reign (Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 10, 6; XXV, 4, 19; F. Préchac, *Rev. Ét. Lat.*, XIV [1936], pp. 48-50, comments on this text and cites various others). Oliver writes: ". . . the way in which Greeks were raised to senatorial rank by Trajan and Hadrian must have shocked him (*sc.* Tacitus) profoundly" (p. 893); but it is only an assumption that Tacitus' life extended into the reign of Hadrian. These, to be sure, are all trivialities.

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*The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania.* Edited by J. M. REYNOLDS and J. B. WARD PERKINS. London, British School at Rome, 1952. Pp. vii + 287; 11 plates; 9 maps; 17 text figs. £3.

The speed, caution, succinctness, and economy with which two British archaeologists have published a corpus of the inscriptions of almost all Roman Tripolitania, yes, a real corpus, though of a new austere type and cheaply printed, are indeed worthy of the most respectful recognition. Well over nine-hundred texts, many of them of great interest and importance, on which the editors could have spent all their lives in fascinating investigations, are brought together and placed *without delay* at the disposal of students everywhere. Thirty-four pages of indexes make the material easily accessible. It strikes a reader first of all that this corpus precedes, rather than follows, an era of discussion.

The inscriptions, the majority previously unpublished, illustrate the vigor of municipal life, particularly in Lepeis Magna, where a magnificent series runs from the first to the fifth century after Christ. Some throw light on the imperial cult; others make contributions to Roman prosopography; one fascinating document, 606, where the bibliographical reference should read *Riv. Ital. del Dramma* II (1940) 210 ff. (not XV 10 ff.), gives the honors of the ranking actor (*pantomimus*) of the Italian stage at the time of Caracalla; another mentions the war *qu[od] imp(erator) G[a]lba pro [re p(ublica)] gessit*. There is something of interest for everyone. No. 564 (at Lepeis Magna) presents the phrase *sufragio quietissimi populi et decreto splendidissimi ordinis*, a parallel for *S. E. G.*, VI, 731 (cf. *Bull. épigraphique*, 1952, 156) at Side, ἡ λαμπρ[οτάτη β]ουλὴ καὶ ὁ εὐσταθ[ῆς δῆμος].

The commentary has been kept to the barest essentials, and economies are in general skilfully effected. The selection of photographs exemplifies types of lettering so as to make the descriptions clear. Most inscriptions are not accompanied by photographs, but over every inscription the reader is told that a Leica snapshot or something else is available at, say, the British School in Rome. Are the transcriptions accurate? For most purposes I think so, but one reviewer, A. Deggrassi, *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia*, 1954, pp. 113-16, has taken the trouble to hunt up photographs and has made not only restorations but corrections, including the addition of a whole line omitted in No. 456. Publication of over nine-hundred photographs or drawings would have made the inexpensive book for all but institutions prohibitively expensive, but as it is, an interested student can probably obtain a print without too much difficulty, when he needs it. Still, some photographs had already been published, and the reader should have been told so. Furthermore, if this is a book for private purchase, the absence of wide margins for notations is a small economy not only aesthetically offensive but functionally wrong.

The editors of *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* have certainly succeeded in what they set out to do. The reviewer, who could easily select this or that document for further investigation, does not wish to detract from the true impression of a great service by doing himself in the review what the editors have deliberately and gener-



ously refrained from doing, and he will only say that the title *amator patriae* may, as the editors affirm on pp. 80-1, be a translation from the Punic, but then the Punic title was a translation of the Greek φιλόπατρις. In No. 565 read *quod idem ordines universosq(ue) provinciales iuridicendo, fide, benevolentia, multis beneficiis cumulaverit*, not *benevolentiam viti(i)s beneficiis cumulaverit*. Finally it is too bad to use the angular brackets for deletions rather than for editorial additions and changes. For example, in No. 457 the letters PVR are rendered *pu<r>(blice)* rather than *pu<b>(lice)*.

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Les Langues du Monde. Par un groupe de linguistes sous la direction de A. MEILLET et MARCEL COHEN. Nouvelle édition. Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1952. Pp. xiii + 1294 + 3.

This monumental work is a revised and augmented edition of a former book of the same name, published in Paris in 1924. Both works, dealing as they do with a world-wide topic, were prepared, not by a single author, but by a group of specialists versed in the various languages. The lapse of time between the two editions has made necessary a number of changes in the authorship of the various sections. These changes are set forth in detail in the review of Hoenigswald (*J. A. O. S.*, LXXIV [1954], pp. 65-6) and need not be repeated here.

The new edition presents the following subdivisions, viz.: avertissement, pp. v-viii; liste des collaborateurs, ix; abréviations, x; transcription et notation phonétique, xi-xvi; bibliographie (general), xvii-xlii; text, 4-1198; additions et rectifications (chiefly to bibliographies), 1199-1207; index des langues, 1209-73; index des écritures, 1274-5; index des termes linguistiques, 1276-80; corrections, 1281-4; table des matières, 1285-94; table des textes (specimens in various languages), 1 p.; table des cartes, 1 p.; date of completion (Nov. 20, 1952), 1 p.; map case, Atlas des langues du monde; separate sheet (2 pp.), additions et corrections complémentaires (arrêtées au 17 Février 1953).

For purposes of treatment the world's languages are collected into thirteen groups of very irregular size, several consisting of a single language, e. g. Basque, some containing hundreds of languages, e. g. those of negro Africa and America. This grouping is based, sometimes on real linguistic relationship (cognate languages) as in the case of the Indo-European, Hamito-Semitic, Dravidian, and Malayo-Polynesian families; sometimes on geographic proximity, as in the case of Asianic and Mediterranean languages, the languages of negro Africa, and the languages of America; sometimes apparently on elements of both, as in the languages of Eurasia and North Asia. Every main group and many of the subgroups into which they are divided are followed by special bibliographies.

Though the two editions follow the same general plan of arrangement, this second edition represents an expansion of the first in



practically every particular, and has in addition a number of new features. The overall size of the first edition is about 800 pages; the second contains over 1300 (a quarto volume three inches thick); and the amount of space devoted to each section is almost always increased; e. g.:

section	ed. 1	ed. 2
Indo-European .....	60	78
Hamito-Semitic .....	70	100
Finno-Ugrian, Samoyedic, Turkish, Mongol, Tunguse .....	90	213
Bantu .....	28	57
Amerindian .....	118	256

The two pages of general linguistic bibliography in ed. 1 have been expanded in ed. 2 to an extensive and most useful bibliographic collection (26 pp.) of works dealing with the classification of languages and general linguistics, including an excellent and most unusual chronological list of all works containing tables or lists of languages, comparative specimens of various languages, or polyglot vocabularies, published from the tenth century to the present. In this list are especially to be noted, as worthy forerunners of *Les Langues du Monde*, the various editions of Adelung's *Mithradates* (1806, 1809, 1812-16, 1817), which give indications of the structure of about 500 languages, with the Lord's Prayer in each language; and Friedrich Müller's *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft* in four volumes (1876-77, 1882, 1884-87, 1888), which in addition to 178 pages devoted to the discussion of general linguistics, gives an account of all the chief languages of the world with special emphasis on grammatical outlines.

In general the individual bibliographies which follow the treatment of groups of languages or single languages in ed. 2 are far more extensive than the similar bibliographic material in ed. 1; for example in Indo-European ed. 2 has 12 pp. with over 200 titles, ed. 1, 127 footnotes; in Hamito-Semitic ed. 2 has 6 pp., ed. 1, 2 pp.; the Algonkin group of North American Indian languages in ed. 2 has 81 bibliographic entries, while ed. 1 has only 24 entries for all the languages of North America. Of special importance as a basis for further study is the bibliographic material attached to lesser known languages like those of the Sudan region in Africa and the Amerindian languages of the Western Hemisphere.

In the general bibliography it would not have been amiss to call attention to the various series of practical grammars published in Germany, especially the Hartleben series (Wien, Pest, Leipzig), the volumes of which give interesting and valuable information about practically all the languages of Europe, and many of Asia, Africa, and Oceania.

It must have been a difficult task for the authors in preparing the various bibliographies to confine them to reasonable limits, and at the same time to include all items of a fundamental character; so specialists will doubtless miss many familiar titles. Some omissions of important items in fields of my acquaintance might be mentioned: in Indo-European, Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, Jackson's *Avesta Grammar*, Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Curme's *German Grammar* and *English Grammar*; in Semitic, Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Hebrew*

*Grammar*, Bauer and Leander's *Historisch. Gram. d. hebräisch. Sprache*, Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*, Nöldeke's *Syrische Gram.*, Socin-Brockelmann's *Arabische Gram.*, Vernier's *Grammaire Arabe*, Rec-kendorff's *Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse d. Arabischen*; in the field of Indonesian (Malayan) bibliography the entries are particularly meager; there is no mention of the works of Brandstetter or Otto Scheerer, and no mention of the grammar of any language except Malay.

In ed. 2 the index of languages and the index of scripts, which are combined in one index in ed. 1, are given separately, and an index of linguistic terms is added.

The matter of illustrative maps is much more efficiently handled in ed. 2. In ed. 1 besides a few small maps in the text, 18 maps are attached to the binding at the end of the book, folded many times (map. No. 1 has five folds, No. 18 has nine) to make them fit the page size, so that they must be spread out in order to be used, entailing loss of time and much inconvenience in consulting, especially when it is necessary to use two or more at the same time. In ed. 2 the maps (twenty-one on twenty-six sheets) are placed in a separate case of page size which fits within the binding after the last page; there are no elaborately folded maps; many consist of a single sheet, or have only a single fold (only five maps have two folds), and none are difficult to open out. In general the maps in both editions cover the same ground, though in ed. 2 maps Nos. 20 and 21 constitute an excellent addition to those in ed. 1, giving respectively a world map of native languages (*langues indigènes*) and a similar map of languages of more or less civilized peoples (*langues de civilisation*).

As an interesting new feature ed. 2 precedes the various linguistic groups with a "note liminaire," listing the various suggestions, both probable and improbable, which have been made as to the connection of this group with other main groups. Such notes precede the treatment of Indo-European (pp. 3-4), Hamito-Semitic (pp. 82-4), Asianic and Aegean languages (pp. 184-6), Caucasian (pp. 228-30), Basque (pp. 257-8), Uralian, Turkish, Mongol, etc. (pp. 272-8), Dravidian (p. 486), Burushaski (p. 506), Andaman (p. 512), languages of south-east Asia (pp. 525-8), Malayo-Polynesian (pp. 646-8), Negro African, Sudan, etc. (pp. 735-6), Amerindian (pp. 943-4); especially important is the long note preceding Uralian, etc. Of suggested connections not noted might be mentioned C. J. Ball's theory of a link between Sumerian and Chinese (*Chinese and Sumerian* [London, 1913]), Neville Whymant's attempt to connect the Malayo-Polynesian languages with Japanese (theory outlined in *Japan Advertiser*, Dec. 7, 1924) and E. Arsenio Manuel's suggestion of a connection between the Philippine languages and Chinese (*Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language* [Manila, 1948]).

The discussion of each language group or individual language consists, as far as information is available, of two distinct parts, viz. a) discussion of external features, subdivisions in the case of groups, location, external history, number speaking, script, literature if any, etc. and b) grammatical outline of chief features, ending in many cases with the presentation of a brief text with translation and explanation. As a general thing the external features are well

presented, but the grammatical sketches are in many cases brief and very general. This brevity of grammatical outline is sometimes due to paucity of knowledge, but in many cases to the same necessity for condensation as in the bibliography, even when fuller knowledge is available. This brevity of treatment, while perhaps unavoidable under the circumstances, in what is certainly one of the most important features of an encyclopedic collection like the present, represents a certain lack in the fulness of the overall picture. The older *Grundriss* of Friedrich Müller, which, though it pays little or no attention to the external features of the languages it describes, emphasizes especially the feature of grammatical outlines, discussing in some detail all important phonological material, the fundamental features of noun, adjective, pronoun (including numerals), and verb, accompanied by extended paradigms and specimen texts, may in this respect serve as a useful supplement to ed. 2.

The difference in the stress placed on grammatical outlines in the two editions of *Les Langues du Monde* and in Müller's *Grundriss* is evidenced by the number of pages devoted to these outlines in the three works, e. g.:

section	ed. 1	ed. 2	Grundr.
Basque	3 (323-6)	6 (263-8)	47 (III, 2, 1-47)
Dravidian	8 (351-8)	10 (491-501)	85 (III, 1, 162-246)
Algonkin	no outline	3 (1164-7)	12 (II, 1, 193-205)
Gurani-Tupi	no outline	no outline	9 (II, 1, 381-9)

Especially to be commended are the long discussions which deal with Uralian, Turkish, Mongol, Tunguse, and languages of north-east Asia (pp. 287-317, 322-30, 346-66, 376-83, 392-400, 410-28). Moreover, the reduction to some kind of order of the maze of languages spoken in the Sudan, north of the Bantu region of South Africa, and of the bewildering complex of the Amerindian languages, constitutes a substantial accomplishment.

Though it lies entirely outside of the plan of *Les Langues du Monde*, a chapter on suggested artificial world languages such as Volapük, Esperanto, Basic English, etc., with some account of the principles on which they are constructed, would have been interesting and instructive.

On the whole this second edition of *Les Langues du Monde* furnishes a satisfactory account of all the chief features of all the known languages of the world, and within the limits of the knowledge which is available offers an adequate treatment in each case. The work constitutes an invaluable encyclopedia of the world's languages, making easily accessible fundamental information about any individual language, and furnishing a basis for further study of any language or language group. All students of language are indebted to the group of linguists who projected and carried through to success the stupendous task of registration, selection, and description involved in the preparation of this truly wonderful piece of work.

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CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR. *The History of Alexander the Great*. Volume I, Part 1: Index to the Extant Historians. Part 2: The Fragments. Providence, Brown University, 1953. Pp. xvii + 276. (*Brown University Studies*, XVI.)

This work had been projected at least as early as 1932, when Robinson hoped to supply the lack of an "Alexander-harmony." But now the author confides with disarming candor: "I am not sure exactly what is meant by an 'Alexander-harmony,' but at any rate it is my intention to present all the ancient accounts of Alexander in such a way that they can be readily handled by others and to add some comments of my own" (p. viii). Clear as this statement appears to be it leaves considerable doubt in the reviewer's mind as to the public for whom this new Alexander study is intended. If it is addressed to scholars in the field, one might expect an edition of all the ancient texts on Alexander with a commentary along lines suggested by W. W. Tarn's second volume (*Alexander the Great: Sources and Studies* [Cambridge, 1948]). On the other hand a work designed for a wider circle of readers would presumably translate the sources on Alexander, with comments and appropriate references to modern literature. To judge by the first volume the present work does not fit either of these classifications. Part 1 consists of an index to the Teubner texts of the five more or less complete accounts of Alexander that have come to us from the ancient world (viz. Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Q. Curtius Rufus, and Justin), while Part 2 is a translation of Jacoby's text of the fragments of the Alexander historians (*F. Gr. H.*, II B, Nos. 117-153). Part 1 is evidently of little use to non-classicists unless later supplemented by a complete English translation, while Part 2 offers little to the specialist, however it may interest the general reader. Yet an index to the Alexander fragments would have helped everyone, since none now exists.

Robinson's index attempts to pinpoint each significant reference to Alexander in terms of his itinerary, and at the same time tries to classify each reference for its content. Accordingly the index follows the order of Alexander's march, beginning with the entries *Ilion*, *Arisbe*, *Perkote*, *Lampsakos*, etc., and concluding with *Sickness and Death*. Under each entry references are given to the relevant passages in the five historians, and following these references comes a list of Roman numerals, each linked to letters denoting one or more of the historians. These numerals represent the fifty-eight "Categories" to which Robinson has assigned all significant references to Alexander. Three or four examples will illustrate their nature:

- II. Reinforcements, new troops received by Alexander; re-enlistments.
- XXIX. Alexander's treatment of former enemies and their towns.
- XL. Mutinies, plots, accusations, arrests, trials, executions, murders, suicides in Alexander's army and government.
- LI. Historical digressions and comments by the extant historians.

For the specialist these classifications will be highly suggestive, because they cut across conventional ways of handling the sources,

and by rearranging them reveal unexpected facets. But the unwary may be misled into thinking that here at last we have a statistical basis for a "scientific" study of Alexander. Also in beginning his index with Alexander's crossing over into Asia, Robinson necessarily leaves out of his "Categories" many passages important for judging Alexander, passages of which he himself made good use in an earlier work (*Alexander the Great* [New York, 1947]). But no manipulation, however skillful, can make up for our ignorance of the history of the Alexander tradition in the centuries between the eye-witness accounts we have lost and the late conglomerations that survive.

Part 2, while based on Jacoby, shows important differences. The German editor is careful to indicate the various degrees of probability with which a passage may be attributed to a particular historian; when he finds a passage mainly derived from one historian but interrupted from time to time by other sources, he prints enough of the passage to give the reader the benefit of the context, but separates the extraneous material by printing it in smaller type. This distinction is ignored by Robinson. Consequently the reader does not get an accurate impression of the reliability of a particular fragment, or even of the extent of the fragment itself. This leads to a distorted view, particularly where controversial writers like Aristobulus or Ptolemy are concerned. Further, it is not quite accurate to regard Part 2 as a translation of the text of Jacoby, because it contains many translations borrowed from Loeb editions and elsewhere, which were not originally based on this text. To be sure Robinson does make an effort to remove the discrepancies, but not always with equal success. Three examples, all from Strabo, serve to illustrate his procedure.

We may begin with Strabo, XV, 1, 21-4 (Onesicritus F 22; Robinson, pp. 159-61). The translation used, as in all Strabo excerpts, is that of H. L. Jones (Loeb edition). As Jacoby points out in his commentary, this long passage is derived from Onesicritus with brief insertions from Aristobulus, Aristotle, and others (*F. Gr. H.*, II D, p. 477, lines 24 ff.). Almost at the end of XV, 1, 21 we find the following (no textual differences between Jones and Jacoby): καὶ τῶν ἐρισφόρων δένδρων φησὶν οὗτος τὸ ἄνθος ἔχειν πυρῆνα, which Jones renders as: "And as for the wool-bearing trees, Aristobulus says that the flower contains a seed." By using large type Jacoby shows that for him οὗτος stands for *Onesicritus* not for *Aristobulus*. Robinson writes: "And as for the wool-bearing trees, he says that the flower contains a seed." Likewise he is twice substituted for Jones' *Aristobulus* in chapter 22, and once for *Aristotle* in chapter 23. These changes were essential if Robinson intended to include the passage among the fragments of *Onesicritus*, but they are half-hearted. Having rejected Jones' *Aristobulus* and *Aristotle* Robinson ought to have written *Onesicritus* for οὗτος (as in the old Müller Strabo) so that the English might be as clear as the Greek.

Turning next to Strabo, XV, 1, 61 (Aristobulus, F 41), we find two minor differences between the text of Jones and that of Jacoby (vol. VII, p. 106, line 6 in Jones; II B, p. 781, line 31 in Jacoby), which are reflected in Jones' translation. Robinson simply repeats this translation without noting the discrepancy. Apparently he uses Jacoby only to delimit the fragments. When a fragment comes from Strabo, he then turns to the Loeb, faithfully reproducing the transla-



tion unless there is an obvious contradiction between Jacoby's grouping of the fragments and Jones' translation. Then, and then only, does Robinson appear to have examined the Greek with care.

The third Strabo passage reads as follows (XV, 1, 54, Onesicritus, F 25): δούλοις δὲ οὗτος (i. e. Megasthenes) μὲν φησι μηδένα Ἰνδῶν χρῆσθαι, Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ πῶν ἐν τῇ Μουσικανοῦ τοῦτ' ἴδιον ἀποφαίνει, καὶ ὡς κατόρθωμά γε, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ λέγει τῆς χώρας ταύτης κατορθώματα ὡς εὐνομωτάτης. Jones takes this to mean that Onesicritus says there was no slavery in India *except* in the land of Musicanus, when it clearly means that *only* in the land of Musicanus was there no slavery. This is not too excusable in Jones, when only a few chapters earlier he has translated a passage in which Strabo has Onesicritus say that in the land of Musicanus the young men served *instead* of slaves (XV, 1, 34), but it is still harder to understand how Robinson could transcribe two consecutive fragments of Onesicritus (i. e. F 24 and 25) without seeing that as translated they contradict one another. The passage is of more than casual significance (discussed in my *Onesicritus, A Study in Hellenistic Historiography* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949], p. 156, n. 41), for it gives us important indications for judging both Onesicritus and Megasthenes.

It is a pity that Robinson did not make his own translations throughout, for when he does so they are clear and straightforward. An example is his translation of Jacoby's anonymous historian, No. 151 (Robinson, pp. 265-8), where one wonders only why the direct discourse of the text was not always preserved in the translation of F 10, and why in F 12 we are told that men in towers placed on the backs of elephants "fought with weapons." They could hardly exchange fisticuffs, and ἐν ὀπλοῖς must refer to their defensive armor or shields—towers, men, shields all show the elephant's capacity to carry a heavy load.

It is to be hoped that Robinson's second volume will appear soon, and that when it does many of the seeming ambiguities of the first will have disappeared.

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JEAN IRIGOIN. *Histoire du Texte de Pindare*. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1952. Pp. xiv + 465. 1800 fr. (*Études et Commentaires*, XIII.)

Irigoin's study of the history of the Pindaric text derived from an examination of the language of choral lyric and its evolution from Aleman to Pindar, published subsequently as Volume XVI of the same collection. The present investigation of the textual transmission won the critical support of Dain and Chantraine, while Turyn's edition provided the foundation for the research.

The exceptional breadth of the study is revealed by the table of contents: Chapter I: Le manuscrit original et la représentation; II: Les premières éditions et la diffusion du texte; III: Les éditions destinées à la lecture; IV: La Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie. Zénodote;



V: L'édition d'Aristophane de Byzance; VI: Le commentaire d'Aristarque; VII: Disciples et adversaires d'Aristarque; VIII: Didyme; IX: Les papyrus de Pindare; X: L'édition des Épinicies du II<sup>e</sup> au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle; XI: L'époque des translittérations; XII: Le XI<sup>e</sup> et le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle; XIII: Le XIII<sup>e</sup> et le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle; les descendants du *Thessalonicensis*; XIV: Le XIII<sup>e</sup> et le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Maxime Planude et son école; XV: Le XIII<sup>e</sup> et le XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: les descendants du prototype λ, le *Laurentianus* 32, 52, un philologue moderne: Démétrius Triclinius; XVI: La fin de Byzance et l'hellénisme en Italie. Conclusion. A list of the manuscripts, bibliography, stemma, and index are indispensable additions.

The earlier chapters dealing with the original manuscript and the earliest editions contain brilliant and provocative suggestions. Irigoin suggests that Pindar edited two texts at least on each occasion, one for his *chorodidaskalos* (with musical notation and choreographic directions for the first triad) and another for his client (without the choreographic notes). The latter text, considered to be the original, would remain the property of the victor or find its way into the temple or city archives. Irigoin's discussion of the musical notation and presentation (pp. 6-7; 21-2) bears comparison with recent study elsewhere (cf. W. B. Sedgwick, "A Note on the Performance of Greek Vocal Music," in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XI [1950], pp. 222-6). Irigoin argues, from contemporary citations, that an edition of Pindar's poems was current at Athens by the end of the fifth century B. C. and the beginning of the fourth. His discussion of *metagrammatismos* (pp. 22-8) and of the proportions of the Alexandrian rolls (pp. 38-41) is lucid and concise. Scholarship of the Alexandrian period (pp. 31-92) is carefully assessed and due attention is given to Aristophanes, "le grand éditeur" of the Vulgate, who first classified and apportioned the poems in seventeen books, devised colometry, and introduced the *paraphros*, *coronis*, and asterisk to facilitate reading. The massive erudition of Didymus' commentary (based on Aristarchus) is critically assessed and his historical interpretation and method are appreciatively noted.

Irigoin devotes careful study to the selection of Pindar's *Epinicia* compiled under the Antonines (ca. 150-180 A. D.) in Athens. A commentary was compiled for the papyrus *codex* primarily for pedagogical reasons and this commentary of the fourth century of this era is admittedly forerunner of the mediaeval *scholia*. Copyings of the selected *Epinicia* culminated in the two well-known recensions, the Ambrosian archetype (dating from the fourth century) and the Vatican archetype (dating from the beginning of the fifth century).

Irigoin deduces that the Ambrosian recension in its original form contained only the *Olympians* and that one of the descendants of the Ambrosian archetype, mutilated at the beginning and end (*Olympians*, 2-12) yielded Ambrosianus C 222 inf. (A). Both text and *scholia* of this recension are deemed superior to the Vatican counterpart. Except for Ambrosianus C 222 inf. (A) and a sixteenth century copy (pp. 366-7) the entire tradition of Pindar emanates from the archetype of the Vatican recensions. Irigoin's treatment of the papyri independent of the two recensions is expert and persuasive (pp. 115-21, with stemma).

The work of the Byzantine editors is enthusiastically discussed and analysed, and their various editions classified with painstaking

tracing of the tradition. Irigoin shows remarkable assurance in compiling the editions of Thomas Magister (pp. 180-205), of Maximus Planudes (pp. 247-69), which is an innovation in Pindaric scholarship, of Manuel Moschopoulos (pp. 270-88; 390-4), and Demetrius Triclinius (pp. 338-40; 396-9). Demetrius Triclinius, "un philologue moderne," commands attention as the first philologist of the epoch to collate several manuscripts in an effort to obtain the best reading. His emendations (for Irigoin at least) reveal intelligence and knowledge of metrics unusual for his time. His was the only Byzantine edition which contained the complete *Epinicia*.

Irigoin's work contains many a *tour de force*, particularly his reconstruction of the lost *Thessalonicensis* (pp. 146-56), and is notable throughout for its daring, often radical, approach to absorbing problems. Many will quarrel with his ingenuity, his multiplications of subdivisions and lines of influence over Turyn's stemma, and his staunch confidence in the Byzantine editors' knowledge of prosody and language when they unquestionably make notorious errors. However, all must confess that Irigoin's detailed and erudite reconstruction of the textual history sheds a clear light on a hitherto shadowy reserve of Pindaric scholarship.

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Nicander: The Poems and Poetical Fragments. Edited with a Translation and Notes by A. S. F. GOW and A. F. SCHOLFIELD. Cambridge University Press, 1953. Pp. xii + 248. \$6.00.

The great presses of England have declared themselves partial to Alexandrian studies: in rapid succession we have thankfully received Callimachus, Theocritus, Nicander; and while we continue to await eagerly Hermann Fraenkel's Apollonius, this may well content us.

Gow and Scholfield (G-S) provide a good text, a cautious and industrious translation, a select apparatus, and notes full enough for anyone but a professional naturalist. It is a very good piece of work and one that no one should ever have to do again.

If one cannot even now read Nicander in comfort, it is the fault of the author himself, for G-S have done their best to smooth our path. They are, perhaps, a little unjust to what is called his "hispid" (*C. Q.*, XLV, p. 95) ways, though not much, to be sure; and one can readily understand the impatience that their fearsome task engendered. But after all Nicander is a didactic poet and if he does not have Manilius' facility for doing sums in verse or Lucretius' dexterity with optics, every now and again he does not do badly (*Alex.*, 561 has all the dubious charm of Ennius). To take random examples: suppose you wanted to say, "Even with water you might easily escape death"; you will hardly do much better than *Ther.*, 540. Suppose you tried to get "It will often swell up in his chest, at other times it will choke him" into a single dactylic line. Try it and then turn to *Alex.*, 522. However, no doubt G-S are perfectly right; the poet's vocabulary is hispid.

The editors have wisely decided not to depict a stemma of the MSS; this is just as well for there is none to draw. Every MS they use (and very likely a number that they don't) has independent value. This is proved by the most cursory inspection of even such a select apparatus as theirs (for full information one must go to O. Schneider). This would still be the case even if we had before us the full text of Parisinus suppl. 247 (II), or that of half a dozen closely related MSS. Though our papyri are only two and painfully brief and mutilated, they demonstrate this adequately. All of the MSS go back to ancient editions, with or without scholia; and when G-S tell us that the text of what they call "the common" MSS has "undergone the kind of changes, accidental and deliberate, which might be expected from the bewildered scribes and readers of such an author," for "scribes and readers" substitute "ancient editors and diasceusts."

II has, it is true, usually a better text than the others, either singly or collectively; and it is confirmed by independent testimony at, e.g. *Ther.*,<sup>1</sup> 45, 131, 143, and often elsewhere. But the other MSS are superior in many places, e.g. 43, 55, 121, 156, 173, 177, 356, 360, 381, 383, 385—and the last three cited are particularly instructive since the "common" MSS are here confirmed by a very early papyrus (1st century of this era). Now it is also worth observing that the "common" MSS are only likely to be right when they differ from each other if they then agree with II against their fellows, as G at 26, 37, 119, 140, 141, 173, 197, 274 (at 62 and 225 II is missing); K at 372; V at 47, 257, 336; M at 160; G M at 192, 368, 546; M V at 142; M R at 327. There seem to be only a few exceptions, such as B P at 30; for in others, as P at 58, II is missing. This demonstrates, as Housman remarked of the tradition of Lucan, that the MSS group themselves, not in families, but in factions. (And the same phenomenon has recently been demonstrated by E. N. O'Neil for the text of Maximianus in a study to appear in the *California Studies in Classical Philology*.)

G-S believe that "none of the mss of the common class is old enough to be out of reach of Byzantine interpolation." A Byzantine interpolating Nicander? He had neither the brains nor the technical equipment. Our variants, one and all, and many of the corruptions, go back to remote antiquity, in all probability to the first century B. C. or before—in any case to within two or three hundred years of our author's death. No one will be surprised at this if he reflects upon what had happened to the text of Plato before the third century, or to that of Vergil before Quintilian. It is, further, not unlikely that there were two principal editions of Nicander, from one of which comes II, and from the other *P. Oxy.*, 2221 and all other known texts, though there has been considerable contamination between the two classes. This is as close to a stemma as we are likely to approach. The scholia quote quite freely from both classes and, in all likelihood, several other sources and editions, some of them of obvious value.

A few random notes may be appended:

<sup>1</sup> These remarks are based primarily upon the text of the first part of the *Theriaca*.

*Ther.*, 342: perhaps ἐκρήξευε, χέαι δ'; cf. *Alex.*, 587, a line with the same rhythm; see also *Ther.*, 942.

*Ther.*, 820: ἄβλαπτος?; see 488 where Nicander coins the word.

I cannot emend the first word in *Alex.*, 269, but 266 may open with ῥῶν, to fit the acrostic (see G-S's note on *Ther.*, 345). σὺν δὲ καὶ comes from 274.

Frag. 107 (*A.P.*, XI, 7): if one should wish to make a stupid poem worse, write βινεῖν in v. 2 (Herwerden, *Mnem.*, II, p. 338, appropriated as usual by Paton in *L. C. L.*).

Frag. <149> (*A.P.*, IX, 363): a considerable bibliography might be collected on this, beginning with Stella, *Cinque Poeti*, p. 231; but G-S are doubtless right to ignore Stadtmueller's attribution. The poem seems several centuries later than Nicander, to be approaching, in fact, the dread age of Nonnus.

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EDUARD SCHWYZER. Griechische Grammatik. Dritter Band: Register, von DEMETRIUS J. GEORGACAS. München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1953. Pp. xxiii + 392. (*Müller's Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, II, I, III.)

The appearance of this index is certain to be most welcome to persons who are accustomed to refer to Schwyzler-Debrunner, for although it was usually possible with the aid of the table of contents to find any topic in that extremely detailed and comprehensive grammar, the task has now become immeasurably easier. The brief preface is devoted mainly to explanatory remarks designed to facilitate the use of the index. Next follows a table of contents; then six pages of additions and corrections to the two volumes of the grammar and also to the index itself. Several errors to which I called attention in *A. J. P.*, LXXIII, p. 322, are not included, whether through oversight or because of their insignificance. The list of abbreviations which follows represents a very thorough listing. The word-index, which occupies most of the volume and which also includes separate sounds and suffixes, gives at the right of the page-references a small raised figure showing by an eightfold system of division the portion of the page on which the word may be found, a very substantial help in the use of a work having sometimes fifty or more lines of fine print to a page. In this index the large portion devoted to Greek is followed by separate sections for the various forms cited from other Indo-European languages and then for those from non-Indo-European languages. The index of subjects occupies the last fifty-odd pages of the book.

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(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all pertaining to the classical field are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

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